# AN ABRIDGEMENT,

*Or rather,*

A Bridge of Roman Hiſtories, to paſſe the neereſt way from TITVS LIVIVS to CORNELIVS TACITVS.

*Under which*

(IN THREE BOOKES)

AS IT WERE THROVGH THREE ARCHES, for the ſpace of Sixe ſcore yeeres, the Fame and Fortune of the Romans ebbs and flowes.

By

William Fulbecke.

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# The Præface to the Reader.

FOurteene yeares are now runne out ſithence I fully ended and diſpatched this hiſtoricall labour: for departing from the Vniuerſitie of Oxford in the yeare 1584, and addreſſing my ſelfe to the ſtudie of the Law, I thought it more conuenient and reaſonable at once to finiſh and perfect this worke, which I had already begun, then breaking my courſe with delaies to be ſtill ſtriking on the anuill, knowing that things begun, are more eaſily concluded then thinges interrupted can be conioyned; wherefore in that very yeare and ſome few daies following, I did begin, continue and conſummate the three bookes of this hiſtorie, ſince which time it hath lyen in the couert of my ſtudie, of my ſelfe ſeldome looked on, of others ſome times read, who by vrgent perſwaſion would haue mooued me to offer it to the publike view of my countreymen, to which I would in no wiſe condiſcend, alleaging for reaſon that it would be thought a blemiſh of impudencie in me to aſſay the diſcription of ſuch things, which by *Appian*, *Plutarch*, *Paterculus*, & others haue bene excellently deliuered; which I tooke to be a ſufficient fortreſſe and ſupport of my excuſe and refuſall, but againe I heard that all the Romane writers which haue reported the accidents of this hiſtorie, are either in

their narrations too long and prolixe, or elſe too harſh and vnpleaſant, or elſe ſo exceeding brieſe that the coherence and mutuall dependance of things could hardly be diſcerned or coniectured in the narrow compaſſe of ſo ſtrict deſciphering. This I heard with patience, and anſwered with ſilence, for I durſt not oppoſe my blunt arguments to their daintie appetite: the truth ſtanding ſo in the middle way betwixt bs both, that I could not with ſafe conſcience in all theſe allegations diſſent from them, nor with ſound opinion in all conſent vnto them, wherefore weighing more preciſely in minde, and ballancing with vnaffectioned thoughts the ſtate of the difference betwixt vs, and beholding the naked pourtraiture of the thing it ſelfe without ſhadow of circumſtances, I perceiued that the great prolixitie and the too exceeding breuitie of the Romane hiſtoriographers could not well be couered with the veile of any reaſonable excuſe: and further the obiection of others could not well be confuted, who do condemne in their writings great diſagreament and contrariety of narration, wherefore remembring my firſt intent in the collecting of theſe hiſtoricall reports, which was to ſingle and ſequeſter the vndeniable truth of the hiſtorie from the droſſe and falſhood which was in many places intermixed and enfolded in it: and to do this in ſuch ſort, that my ſpeciall care in auoyding the extremities of length and breuity, two lothſome faults, from which notwithſtanding few writers be free, might fully and manifeſtly appeare: and conſidering likewiſe that hiſtories are now in ſpeciall

requeſt

requeſt and accompt, whereat I greatly reioyce, acknowledging them to be the teachers of vertuous life, good conuerſation, diſcreete behauiour, politike gouernement, conuenient enterpriſes, aduiſed proceedings, warie defences, grounded experience, and refined wiſedome. And being again ſolicited by perſwaſible meanes, to commit the cenſure of this my hiſtoricall collection to the curteſie of others, I haue atlaſt yeelded to this motion, repoſing my ſelfe rather vpon kinde conſtruction, then rigorous deſert. The vſe of this hiſtorie is threefold, firſt the reuealing of the miſchiefes of diſcord and ciuill diſcention, in which the innocent are proſcribed for their wealth, noble men diſhonored, cities become waſte by baniſhment and bloodſhed: nay (which is more) virgins are deflowred, infants are taken out of their parents armes, and put to the ſword, matrons do ſuffer villanie, temples and houſes are ſpoyled, and euery place is full of armed men, of carcaſſes, of bloud, of teares. Secondly the opening of the cauſe hereof, which is nothiug elſe but ambition, for out of this ſeed groweth a whole harueſt of euils. Thirdly the declaring of the remedie, which is by humble eſtimation of our ſelues, by liuing well, not by lurking well: by conuerſing in the light of the common weale with equals, not by complotting in darke conuenticles againſt ſuperiors: by contenting our ſelues with our lot, and not contending to our loſſe: by hoping without aſpiring, and by ſuffering without conſpiring. Let Rome in this hiſtory be a witneſſe, that a ſlipperie aſcending was alwaies ac-

companied, with a headlong diſcent, and that peace is a great deale better then triumph, which will be an occaſion I truſt to my countreymen of England to be thankfull to God for this ſweete quiet and ſerenitie of this flouriſhing eſtate, in which England now ſtandeth, wherein the day ſtriueth with the night whether ſhall be calmer: and let it mooue thee whoſoeuer thou art, courteous Reader, to pray with the earneſt endeuor of thy hart, that the Iris which is the pledge of our peace may ſtill ſhine amongſt vs, that the happie Virgin which is the ſtarre of ſafety in the Zodiacke of this common weale may continue immoueable, that our *Halcyon* may ſtill ſit in this *Albion*, on this white rocke to make the ſeas calme, and the waues ſilent, and to preſerue the league of heauen and earth, I meane true Religion amongſt vs. From my Chamber in Graies Inne 13. Octob. Anno Dom. 1600.

*Thine in all ſincere affection,*

WILLIAM FVLBECKE.

## A Table of the Romaine forenames written with one letter.

*A. Aulus.*
*C. Caius.*
*D. Decimus*: for *Decius* it cannot be, becauſe that was the name of a familie, and in the monuments of the Greeke writers, it is written Δέκιμος and not Δέκιος.
*L. Lucius.*
*M. M. Marcus Manius.*
*N. Numerius.*
*P. Publius.*
*Q. Quintus.*
*T. Titus.*

### Written with two letters.

*Ap. Appius.*
*Cn. Cneus.*
*Op. Opiter.*
*Sp. Spurius.*
*Ti. Tiberius.*

### Written with three letters.

*Mam. Mamercus.*
*Sex. Sextus.*
*Ser. Seruius.*
*Tul. Tullius.*

# The names of the bookes and Authors out of which this hiſtorie was derived.

*Appianus.*
*Auguſtinus.*
*Caſſiodorus.*
*Cæſar.*
*Cicero.*
*Dio Nicæus & Dio Caſſius.*
*Eutropius.*
*Florus.*
*Gellius.*
*Gentilis Albericus.*
*Hirtius.*
*Iornandes.*
*Ioſephus.*
*Liber de viris illuſtribus.*
*Liber antiquitatum Romanarum.*
*Libri gentium & familiarum Romanarum.*
*Liuius.*
*Lucanus.*
*Manutius Paulus.*
*Obſequens.*
*Oroſius.*
*Plinius.*
*Pedianus.*
*Plutarchus.*
*Saluſtius.*
*Seneca.*
*Sigonius.*
*Strabo.*
*Velleius*
*Valerius Maximus.*
*Zonaras.*

# CLOTHO,

## *Or the first booke.*

WHen vainglorious Tarquine the last of the Romaine kings for the shamefull rape of Lucrece committed by one of his sonnes, was banished from Rome & Consuls succeeded, which as the name declares, had charge of prouiding for the cõmon safetie & securitie, the Romaines changed gold for brasse, and loathing one king suffered manie tyrants, scourging their follie with their fall, and curing a festred sore with a poisoned plaister; for what could be more vniust, or more contrarie to the free estate of a citie, then to subiect the whole common weale to the rule of manie potentates, and to exclude the people from all right and interest in publique affaires? VVhat could be more absurd then the Tarquin banished.

Senators onely to beſtow the Conſulſhip, the ſoueraignetie in warres, the ſupremacie in ſuperſtitious offices, according to their fancie and affection, to call Senates at their pleaſure, to conuocate aſſemblies when it ſeemed beſt for their owne profite, and to haue power of life and death vpon the bodies of their fellow citizens, & the people to liue like their ſlaues, being barred and reſtrained from marrying with the daughter of anie Senatour, as if that pray had bene too high for ſo low a wing, and being held in ſuch diſdaine and diſreputation that common fellowſhip and mutuall ſocietie was denied them, which was indeede not to liue like free men in a citie, but like villaines and bondmen in a wainſcot priſon, and like ſillie birds in a golden cage: but when after long experience they had found, that winter ſucceeded ſommer, & that the withered welfare of their citie could not be reuiued without ſome fortunate ſpring: to the intent that moderation might be induced, and that the meaner ſort might beare ſome ſtroke with the mightier, that the people might enioy the ſweete of the citie as well as the fathers, they


procured

procured a new office entituled the Tribuneſhip, whereby they might protect themſelues as with a ſhield againſt the arrogant endeuors and outragious decrees of the Senatours, and thē the fellowſhip of mariage was brought in with the Senate, which before was prohibited the people, as if they had bene ſtained with ſome cōtagious iandiſe, or infected with ſome dangerous leproſie, and their ſuffrage was thē made neceſſarie to the election of officers, which before was as rare in that cōmon-weale as a white skin in Æthiopia. The people hauing thus erected their power, did by degrees more and more enhaunce it, till by many alterations it was turned from an Ariſtocracie, from the rule of them that were manie and mightie, to a plaine and viſible Democracie or eſtate popular, adminiſtred by the voyces of the multitude and magiſtrates, and by the vnited conſent of the whole corporatiō. Now when the people had by continuall incrochments aſſumed and ſeaſed into their handes the giuing and beſtowing of the greater offices, as the Conſulſhip, that ſtrong tower of the Senatous authoritie, and beſides that the

Dictatorſhip, the Cenſorſhip, the warlike Empire, the prieſtly dignitie, and many other moſt excellent honors, which before did ſolely belong to the Peeres of Rome, and now there wanted nothing to make their power equall, but onely that Plebiſcites, that is, decrees made by the people, ſhould binde the greater powers, as well as the people themſelues, frō which at that time the whole companie of the Nobles were exempted. Therefore to make them generall, and of like force againſt all, they wreſted from the fathers after much buſineſſe, the law Hortenſia, by which it was enacted that in euery important matter the people ſhould be equally intereſted with the Senate, and that the lawes ſo made and ratified by them, ſhould ſtretch as well to the Senators, as to the people themſelues. After that the common-weale was brought to this good and temperate conſtitution, many profitable lawes were eſtabliſhed, many victories followed, many cities bowed vnto them, manie monarchies ſued for their fauour, manie tyrants feared their puiſſance, & manie countreys dreaded their inuaſion. Then there flouriſhed

riſhed in Rome moſt admirable examples of abſtinencie, modeſtie, iuſtice, fortitude, and which was the ſeale of their ſecuritie, an vniuerſall vnitie and agreement. Then the fame of their Curij, their Coruncani, their Fabritij, their Metelli, their Fabij, their Marcelli, their Scipioes, their Pauli, their Lepidi, did ring in the world, whoſe great magnanimitie & wiſedome in the tumult of warres, together with their ſingular temperance, and loyaltie in the calme of peace, is to be wondred at of all, and of all to be reuerenced. But when either the Senate or people did paſſe the liſts and limits of æquall regiment, the ancient and vertuous orders of the citie were immediatly troden vnder foote, and their good and laudable cuſtomes were encountred and put to flight by diſſolute and vnbridled enormities: then the Aſiaticall triumphs did incorporate into the citie a womaniſh wantonneſſe, then proude ambition mounted her plume of diſdaine vpon the top of the Capitolle, then their exceſſiue pride and iouiſſance for their victories had againſt Pyrrhus, for their cõqueſt of Carthage, for the ouerthrow of Philip, Perſeus,

Antiochus, mightie kings, for the winning of Spaine, Sicilie, Sardinia, Illyria, Macedonia and Greece, being as yet freſh in their memories, were as bellowes to puffe vp their ſwelling humours. Thē there ſucceeded a diſmall diſcord, which beginning when the eſtate was at the higheſt, did not end or expire, till it fell to the loweſt ebbe, ſticking faſt in the ſands of a grieuous deſolation. If a man will retroſpectiuely meaſure the ſpace of former times, & the whole compaſſe of yeares, wherein the fortunes of the Romanes were by God his hand turned about, he ſhall finde that all the weight of their affaires, before the incohation of the Empire of Auguſtus, may be diſperſed into ſixe ages; wherof the firſt containing the number of fiftie yeares, was ſpent in the making of a towne; for that gorgeous ſeate which nowe we call Rome, was then but a plot of ground, to which houſes were wanting, but afterward a great multitude of Latine & Tuſcane ſhepheards, together with Phrygians & Arcadians, flowing to that place, as to a temple reuerenced by pilgrims and trauellers, the common-weale was compacted of theſe ſeuerall

Rome built.

uerall people, as a bodie of diuerſe elements. Romulus the founder of their citie & empire, did delight wholly in mountaines, riuers, woods, mariſhes and waſtes, playing perhaps the eſpiall, to diſcouer and find out in what place it were beſt to erect a citie, and how to conuey things neceſſarie vnto it, and how to adorne it with continual increment and addition of demeiſnes; to ſuch imaginations the fields and places deſolate were moſt accordant, and to his ſauage ſocietie this practiſe of life was moſt acceptable.

The ſecond age which chalengeth other fiftie yeares, did ingender in them working ſpirits and loftie cogitations, which eneagred and inflamed their mindes, againſt the confiners & borderers: then it firſt began to beare the countenance and ſhape of a kingdome, which was after enlarged to the ſhore of the Midland and Adriaticke ſeas, which they rather vſed as bridges to other nations, then as bounders to their owne.

The third age whoſe ſteps were an hundred and fiftie yeares, was the crowne and conſummation of their kingdome, in which whatſoe-

uer was done was done by thē for the pompe, glorie and magnificence of that eſtate: as yet the Romane pride was in her blade, and in the tenderneſſe of her minoritie, this threefold age was ſpent vnder ſeuen kings, differing by fatall prouidence in the diſpoſition of their nature, as the frame and condition of that common-weale did eſpecially require: for who was euer more fierce and ardent then Romulus? Such a one they needed to inuade the kingdomes of others. VVho more religious then Numa? Such the time did aske, that the furie of the people might be mitigated by the feare of God: VVherefore was Tullus that artificiall champion giuen vnto them? That he might ſharpen their valour by his wit. VVherefore Aucus the great builder? That he might extend their citie with colonies, ioyne it together with bridges, enuiron it with walles. The ornaments, enſignes and braueries of Tarquinius, did with rayes of dignitie illuſtrate and decore that eſtate. Seruius taxing them by polles, brought to paſſe that the Romane commō-weale might know her riches. And the importune domination of proud

Romulus eagreſt in fight.

Numa religious.

Tullus an artificiall Captaine.

Aucus a great builder

Tarquinius his ornamēts

Seruius taxeth the Romanes by polles.

proud Tarquine did verie much profite, for the people afflicted by iniuries, did force a passage to their libertie.

Proud Tarquine occasioner of libertie.

The fourth age was as it were the youth of the Romane monarchie, when the flower of their proweſſe being greene, and the bloud of their mindes bloſſoming in their faces and armes, the ſhepheardly ſauageneſſe did as yet breathe foorth the reliques of an vndaunted ſtomacke. Then flouriſhed theſe Romane hazards, and miracles Cocles, Sceuola, Cloætia, which chronicles do therefore witneſſe, that poſteritie may wonder. Then were the Tuſcanes repulſed and the Latines and Volſciãs daily and deadly enemies, vanquiſhed by the triumphant husbandman L. Quintius Cincinnatus, which war he ended within fifteene dayes, as if he had made haſt to returne to his tillage. Then were ouercome the Vientines, the Faliſcians, and the Fidenates: then the Galles a couragious nation, vſing their bodies for armour, in all reſpects ſo terrible, that they might ſeeme to be borne for the death of men, and deſtruction of cities, were vtterly vanquiſhed: then were ouercome the

The ſpeedie war of Cincinnatus.

The praise of Cāpania.

Sabines and Samnites wasting and dispoiling the fields of Campania, being the goodliest plot, the Diamond-sparke and the hony-spot of all Italie: there is no land more temperate for aire, for it hath a double spring-tide: no soile more fertile, and therfore it is called the combat of Bacchus & Ceres, no region more hospitable in regard of the sea, here be the noble hauens Caieta, Misenus, & the healthfull bathes Lucrine and Auerne, the resting places of the sea. Here the mountaines clad with vines Gaurus, Falernus, Massitus, and the firie hill Vesurius: here the famous citie Capua third sister to Rome and Carthage doth imperiously stand. They begirt Samniū with warre and bloud on all sides, till they had ruinated her verie ruines, and reuilled in her bowels, and twelue seuerall nations of Tuscana waging hote and furious battell against them, in such sort and terrible maner, as if darts had bene throwne at the Romans from the coulds, were likewise suppressed. In this age happened the Tarentine warre, in which the armie of Pyrrhus continually slaying was continually slaine, and reuenge did liue in the death

Pyrrhus fighting against the Romans.

death of the Romanes: ſo that Pyrrhus did thinke him ſelfe to be borne vnder Hercules his ſtarre, who hauing cut off the ſeuen heads of Hydra, ſeuen other did ſpring vp. But from this Captaine the Romanes plucked ſuch ſpoiles, that neuer fairer were caried in triumph. For before this day nothing paſſed in triumph, but the heards of the Volſcian cattell, and the flocks of the Sabine ſheepe, the broken wagons of the Gaules, & the cruſhed harneſſe of the Samnites: but in this triumph, if you reſpect the priſoners, they were Moloſſians, Theſſalians, Macedonians, Brutians, Apulians, Lucans: if you regard the pompe, it was gold, purple, curious pictures, tablets, and the delights of Tarentum. Next to this was the victorie of the Piſani and Salentini: this age ſhewed her force the ſpace of two hundred and fiftie yeares.

Then followed the fifth age, in which the bodie of the common weale grew to great ſtrength, the ioints and ſinewes being by mature ſoliditie ſetled in firme eſtate. Therefore the conquering nation hauing now attained to the verie manhood of manlineſſe, and diſ-

played her ſtanderd round about the ſides of Italie, to the skirts of the ſea, pawſed a litle, as a great ſcalefire, which conſuming all the woods and groues in the way that it goeth, is abrupted and put out of courſe by a floud cõming betweene. But ſoone after ſeeing a rich pray on the other ſide of the ſea, ſuppoſing it to be a peece of gold pulled from her maſſe, they did ſo vehemently deſire the ſame, that becauſe it could not be ioyned vnto their dominion by bridges for the interruption of the ſea, therefore they reſolued to ioyne it by ſword and battell: and ſo was Sicilia ſubdued by the Romanes, which was the cauſe and originall of the firſt Carthaginian warre, which the warres of the Ligurians, Inſubrians and Illyrians did follow: and after the ſecond Carthaginian warre, ſo dangerous and bloudie to the Romanes, that if a man compare the loſſe of both nations, they which did conquer, were more like to perſons conquered. For it grieued that noble brood, and valiant people of Carthage to be abridged of the ſea, depriued of the Ilands, to pay tribute, and to vndergo not onely the bridle, but the yoke: to this age

The beginning of the ſecond Carthaginiã war.

must

muſt be aſcribed the circuit of one hundred yeares, which may be termed the golden age of the Romanes, & the firſt age in which they ſhewing their ſtreamers on each ſide of the Ocean, did tranſport their warres into all nations of the world, in whoſe yeares the Romanes were honeſt, religious, iuſt, ſincere, vertuous, and dutifull.

The ſixt age containing 120. yeares was troubleſome and vgly, bloudie & deteſtable, vices growing with their Empire. For with the wars valiantly fought againſt Iugurtha, & Mithridates, againſt the Carthaginians, Cimbrians, Parthians, Galles & Germanes, by which the Romane glorie aſcended and pierced the skie, the ciuill ſlaughters of the Gracchi, and of Druſus, of Marius, Sylla and others were mingled and enterlarded: how mournefull a ſpectacle was it, that they fought the ſame time with fellowes in league, with fellowes in the citie, with bondmen, with fencers, all the Senate afterward contending and being in hurliburly with it ſelfe? Theſe times receiued of the other ages an exquiſite commō weale, as it were a curious picture, which after mil-

dring and decaying by age, they did not only neglect to renew, with the same colours, but they also forgot to preserue the outwarde forme and lineaments thereof, for what remained of the auncient maners, which were both vnused and vnknowne: for by their recent vices they lost the common-weale in fact, and in name retained it. How lamentable was the face of things at that instant? when euerie man confusedly being found in the field, in the streetes, in townes, in houses, in highwaies, in markets, in temples, in beds, sitting at the table or in the porch, was suddenly and sauagely murdered? what howlings were there of them that died? what teares of them that liued, and beheld this? The cause of these miseries was too great prosperitie. VVhat made the people so earnest to extort the lawes of fields and corne, but verie famine procured by riot on the one part, and couetousnesse on the other? for such was the lauish mis-spending, & excessiue vianding of some, that it can hardly be defined, whether more did perish by the blade or by the banquet, and such againe was the couetousnesse, & greedie exacting

exacting of others, that none can iudicially decide, whether the Romanes were more endamaged by the enemie in time of warre, or by the vsurer in peaceable seasons. Hence grew the two ciuil broiles of the Gracchi, and that of Saturninus being the third, and that of Drusus being the fourth, who maintained the Senate against the Knights: and for the further abetting and auow of this quarell, he promised the freedome of the Citie to diuerse Italians animated to this attempt, so that in one Citie there was as much discord as in two seuerall campes. This bred the Italian warre, because promise was not perfourmed. And next ensued the warre of Mithridates, seeing the Romans on each side intangled with garboiles, which presently bred the enmitie betwixt Marius and Sylla, when Marius would haue deuested Sylla of his Generalship giuen him by the Senat for the oppugnation of Mithridates. These two gaue Mithridates encoragement, by leauing the ribbes of the comweale naked and open vnto him, Marius led an armie, ambition led Marius: ambition I say ingendred by riches, did raise contention

The Italian warre.

Mithridates an enemy to the Romans.

The contention betwixt Marius and Sylla.

betwixt them: from this the warre of Sertorius and Pompey had his originall, whereof the one was proscribed by Sylla, the other protected. For Pompey was accompted Syllaes minion or fauorite, whom he therefore called Magnus, that himselfe might seeme greater, being the Saint whom Pompey serued. Sylla was cruell in reuenging crueltie, and his medicine was worse then the maladie it selfe. This stirred the dissention of Lepidus and Catulus, whereof the one would haue ratified, the other reuersed, all the acts of Sylla. Then Catiline whom his lust occasioned by Syllaes indulgence brought to beggerie, opposed himselfe to the Consuls. Then Pompey entred the lists, as a follower of Sylla, who obtained excellent dignitie in these times, but ciuill, and such as the regular course of that common weale did affoord, whose power & authoritie Cæsar could not tollerate, because he could not match it: which notwithstanding he being ouercome and slaine, Cæsar passed and transcended. But when this vsurper had bleached the floore of the Senate house with his owne bloud, who before had ouerflowed

The dissention of Lepidus and Catulus.

Catilines rebellion.

Pompeyes great dignity in Rome.

Cæsar cannot brooke it.

and

and deluged the whole world, with the crimſon goare of moſt admirable men, the common-weale did ſeeme to haue rolled her ſelfe into the ſtate of her priſtinate libertie, and it had returned vnto the ſame, if either Pompey had not left ſonnes, or Cæſar had not made an heire, or, which was worſe, if Antonius the thunder-dart of furie had not ſuruiued, being once colleague with Cæſar in the Conſulſhip, now ſucceſſor of his vſurpation. But while Pompeys ſonne ſtriueth for the honor of the name, the ſea ratleth with armour: whileſt Octauius reuẽgeth the death of his adoptiue father, Theſſalie is againe made the baſis of tents and pauillions, and all Europe and Affricke groneth vnder the weight of iron, whileſt Antonius in the habit of his mind diuerſe and diſcoloured, doth either diſdaine Octauius or doate vpon Cleopatra, whoſe beautie if he could haue exceeded by his chaſtitie, his ſhame ſhould not haue blazed like a beacon at this day in the eyes of poſteritie, but he had won the garlãd of cõqueſt, not meriting more then triumph. The armie of Octauius hauing ſlaine Pompeis ſonne, did in him ſlay enmity,

and Caſſius being ouercome by fight, Brutus by deſpaire, they did extirpate faction. Yet Antonius not chalenging part with anie, but principalitie ouer all, imagining that he wanted no kingly thing ſaue onely a kingdome, remained as a rocke or gulfe in the mouth of the hauē, whom he with ſome labor ſubdued. And, as in the yearely conuerſion of the heauens, it commeth to paſſe, that the ſtarres iogged togeither do murmure and threaten tempeſt, ſo with the alteration of the Romane ſtate, before Octauius founded his Monarchie, the whole globe of the earth with ciuill and forraine warre, with fight on ſea and land was terribly ſhaken. But the accidents and occurrences of theſe laſt hundred and twentie yeares, in the ſequele of this hiſtorie ſhall be, if God fauour theſe lines, more particularly & diſtinctly reported. The firſt that made the Romanes mightie was the former Scipio that ſcourged Affrica with continuall warres and vexations, and in the end ſubdued it: the firſt that made them wanton and effeminate, was the later Scipio, by whom Carthage was ſubuerted, yet not by his fault, but by the caſualty

The valor of the former Scipio.

Theproweſſe of the later Scipio.

of

of the time. For when the riuall and enuious ielouſie of the Carthaginian glory, was by his matchleſſe victorie finally determined, the Romanes did ſodainly degenerate, and with an hungrie gorge fed on the poiſonfull baites of bitter ſweete ambition, following wantons like wilde horſes, and addicted to pleaſure as their onely paragon, the auncient gouernement of the Citie was vtterly forſaken, the watchings of the campe were ended vpon beds of downe, their heauie armour was turned to light and faſhionable attire, and the wonted buſineſſe of the Citie was chaunged into idleneſſe. Then did Scipio Naſica build porches in the Capitolle, then did Metellus threaten the heauēs with haughtie buildings, thē did Cn. Octauius erect a moſt ſumptuous forefront, & then did the riot of the Cōmons imitate the magnificence of the nobles. In the middeſt of this delicate iolitie, when the Romanes were now in the ruffe of their pride, a grieuous and deſpitefull warre was raiſed in Spaine by Viriathus of Luſitania, a notable theefe & ringleader to a multitude of rogues, which hong a long time in ſuſpence: but in the

The Romans made wāton by proſperity

Viriathus an enemy to the Romanes.

end when Viriathus was slaine, rather by the couine then courage of Seruilius Cæpio, a greater danger ensued, namely the warre of the Numantines. The citie of Numantia did neuer affoord armour to any more, then ten thousand citizens at one battell; but either through the fiercenesse of their nature, or the default of the Romane captaines, or the indulgence of fortune, they brought Pompey the first of the Pompeys that was Consull, a mã of note & fame to most shameful leagues, & Mancinus Hostilius, to a detestable truce, which vpon a remorce of minde, and change of opinion, against the law of Armes, and to the great discredit of the Romanes, he afterward broke: but Pompey escaped vnpunished by fauour, Mancinus was punished by shame. For he was caried and transported by the Romane Heraulds vnto the Numantines, his hands being manacled, and so was deliuered vp into the enemies power, whom they refused to receiue, saying that a publique breach of promise was not to be punished by the bloud of one man. This yeelding vp of Mancinus into the enemies hands, did cause in the citie

The Numantine warre.

Pompey enforced to strange leagues by the Numantines.

The punishment of Mãcinus for breaking truce.

citie a perillous and pernitious diſſenſion. For Ti. Gracchus the ſonne of the right noble man Ti. Gracchus, whoſe mother was the daughter of Scipio Affricanus, by whoſe meanes and authority that reprochful league was made, taking it grieuouſly that any thing which he did ſhould be diſcountenanced, and fearing himſelfe the danger either of the like puniſhment or of the like iudgement, being at that time Tribune of the people, in life innocent, in wit pregnant, and in purpoſe guiltleſſe: and furthermore adorned with ſo great vertues, as either nature could affoord, or induſtrie could perfect, or mans frailtie could containe. P. Mutius Scæuola, and L. Calphurnius being Conſuls fell from vertue to vice, and extreme villanie: and hauing promiſed vpon a diſſolute fancie, that he would enfranchiſe and receiue into the Citie anie Italian whoſoeuer, turned all things into a contrarie ſtate, mingled vertues with vice, lawes with luſt, and brought the common-weale into an headlong and hideous danger. Octauius his fellow in office, who ſtood againſt him for the cõmon good, he put from his place, & created

The parents of Ti. Gracchus.

The praiſe of Ti. Gracchus

Gracchus ſwarueth fr6 vertue.

A Treuirate firſt made in Rome.

a new ſtate in Rome entitled a Treuirate or Triarchie, that is the rule of three men, who were called Treuiri, him ſelf for one, his father in law Appius who had bin Cōſul for another and C. Gracchus his brother for the third. At that time flouriſhed P. Scipio Naſica, nephew to him, who was iudged of the Senate in his life time to be the beſt of the Romanes, ſonne to that Scipio who purchaſed great praiſe for his good demeanor in the Cenſorſhip, nephew two degrees remoued to Cn. Scipio a man highly commended, vncle to Scipio Æmilianus whoſe commendation lieth in his name: this Scipio Naſica thogh he were nearly linked in kindred to Tiberius Gracchus, yet preferring his countrey before his kindred, thinking nothing priuately cōmodious which was not publikly conuenient, ſtanding in the higher part of the Capitolle, exhorted all the Romanes, which deſired the ſafetie of the common-weale, to follow him, vpō which words the Nobles, the Senate, and the greater and better part of the Romane knights did runne ſuddenly vpon Gracchus, ſtanding in the floore of the Capitolle with his adherēts, and

The familie of Scipio Naſica.

Scipio Naſica oppoſeth himſelfe to Gracchus.

and euen then conſpiring with a frequent aſſemblie of new-come Italians, he thereupon flying and running downe the hil whereupon the Capitolle was founded, his head being cruſhed as he was running downe, with a fragment of one of the boordes which was in the Senate houſe, did ſodainly end his life, which he might haue enioyed with great honor and quietneſſe. Ti. Gracchus ſlaine.

This broile and hapleſſe diſſention was the firſt conſpiracy in which ciuil bloud was ſhed, and the firſt diſpenſation of drawing ſwordes within the walles: after that time right was oppreſſed by violence, and the mightier man was accompted the better, the quarels of citizens that were wont to be cured by compromiſe and agreement, were now decided by ſword and bloudſhed, and warres were not followed according to the goodneſſe of the cauſe, but according to the greatneſſe of the pray. But it was no maruell, though this ſmall beginning had ſo great effect, and this odious faction ſo vnfortunate conſequence, for examples do not pawſe there where they begin, but being once receiued into a narrow ſtrait,

they make way to themſelues, raunging and ſpreading themſelues ouer the bodie of the world, and when men go once aſtray, they mind not how farre they go, thinking that nothing can procure diſhoneſtie to them, which hath brought profite to others.

VVhileſt theſe things were done in Italie, Scipio Affricanus of the houſe of Æmilius, who deſtroyed Carthage, after many ſlaughters of his enemies in the Numantine warre, being nowe againe made Conſull, was ſent backe into Spaine, where his courage and ſucceſſe did match and æquall his valure and fortune in Affricke, and within a yeare and three moneths after his comming thither, he tooke Numantia, and cauſed euerie ſtone to be throwne to the ground, as a notable monument of a Romane victorie. There was neuer anie man of anie name or nation, that by the ſacking of cities did more æterniſe his houſe or enlarge his glorie: for hauing rooted vp Carthage, he deliuered the Romanes from feare, and hauing razed Numantia, he deliuered them from reproch. Being returned into the Citie within a ſhort time, after

Scipio is ſent into Spaine.

Scipio taketh Numantia.

two

two Conſulſhips, two victories, and two notable triumphs, he was found dead in his bed, his iaw bone being diſſolued and diſlocated. There was no inquiſition made afterward of the death of this inuincible Captaine: the bodie of Scipio was brought out into the ſtreete his head couered, by whoſe great labours and warlike exploits, Rome lifted vp her head ouer all the world, to the terrour and diſmay of other cities and countreys. His death was, as the moſt ſay fatall, as ſome ſay conſpired: his life doubtleſſe was of that ſingularitie, that it was ouercome of no mans glorie, but onely his grandfathers.

Scipio found dead in his bed.

Scipios body is brought out into the ſtreetes.

After the death of Ti. Gracchus, the ſame fury and rage of mind that poſſeſt him, entred as it were by a kind of tranſmutation into his brother C. Gracchus, a man as like to Tiberius in his vertues as in his errour, who when with great facilitie and eaſe of mind he might haue bene the Prince of the Citie and the ruler of the Senate, tooke the Tribuneſhip vpon him to raiſe tumults, to licence ſwords, and to reuiue diſcord, to no other intent or purpoſe but either to reuenge his brothers death, or

C. Gracchus a rebell to the ſtate.

purchase to himselfe a soueraignty, and for the more hastie pursuing of his drift, he bestowed the freedome of the Citie vpon euery inhabitant of Italy: he interdicted and forbad by Tribunitial law, that no citizen should possesse more then fiue hundred akers of land, he erected new hauens, he filled the prouinces with new colonies, he transferred the authoritie of iudgement frō the Senate to the Nobles; he determined to distribute and deuide corne amongst the people: to be briefe, he left almost nothing vnaltered or vndisturbed. This man was slaine by the sharpe and hastie pursuite of L. Opimius Consull who was in armes against him, and Fuluius Flaccus was likewise slaine, one that had enioyed both the Consulship and the honor of Triumph, a man of a detestable meaning, whom C. Gracchus had denominated and designed to be one of the Treuiri in the place of Tiberius his brother, being his associate in all his enterprises, and defiled with the like dishoneſt intendment. Opimius caused proclamation to be made, that whosoeuer could bring vnto him the head of Gracchus, should haue the weight

The seditious acts of C. Gracchus.

Ful. Flaccus a rebellious Senatour slaine.

Opimius his proclamatiō

of the head in gold. Flaccus inciting his ſoldiers on the hill Auentine, was there ſlaine, together with his eldeſt ſonne. C. Gracchus cõmitting himſelfe to flight leſt he might fall into the hands of them whõ Opimius had ſent to take him, putting his bare necke vnder the naked ſword of his ſeruant Euporus, was of him beheaded: and the ſame Euporus was ſuddenly a ſlaughter-man to himſelfe. Thus the two Gracchi finiſhed the courſe of their life, men that had a fortunate beginning, ſiniſter proceedings, & a curſed ending, to whom if they had embraced quietneſſe, the commõweale wold haue offered theſe honors, which by tumult and diſquietneſſe they ſought, their mother Cornelia as yet liuing, a vertuous and learned Ladie; who hauing nurtured and trained them vp in the ſtudie of learning and vertuous demeanour, did greatly bewaile; that her good endeuors had ſo bad ſucceſſe, and that her two ſonnes, whom nature prætended to be the ſolace of her age, were ſo ſodainely and ſhamefully diſgraced, that ſhe could not ſee their bodies couered with earth, they being in moſt deſpitefull maner throwne into

C Gracchus beheaded.

Cornelia lamenteth her children.

Tiber, whose mindes she had furnished and beautified with such excellēt learning, so was her ioy ouercome and surprised with griefe, that she must either loath her children, or else lament for them, but howsoeuer, for euer lacke them.

In that tract of time C. Marius waging battaile in Numidia against Iugurtha, who were both fellow souldiers and managed armes together vnder Scipio Affricanus, sent L. Sylla his Quæstor to Bocchus the King of the Mores, to treate and capitulate with him about the taking of Iugurth, whom by that meane he enioyed, and being made the second time Consull, in the beginning of his Consulship and in the Calends of Ianuary, he brought Iugurth in triumph to Rome. The Cimbrians & Teutons at that time did cause great slaughter and manie massacres of the Romanes in France, and hauing put to flight and discomfited Cæpio, Manlius, Carbo, and Silanus, they killed in fight Scaurus Aurelius one of the Consuls, and other excellent men of memorable qualities. The people of Rome did not thinke anie Generall so fit to encoun-

C. Marius taketh Iugurtha by Sylla his meanes.

ter

ter theſe foes as C. Marius: & whileſt he was in theſe warres, he was continually Conſull, his third Conſulſhip he ſpent in warlike preparation, thinking it not ſufficient to haue ſouldiers, but to haue practiſed and skilfull ſouldiers, training them by pettie skirmiſhes, and encouraging thē by the conqueſt of baſe townes, to more haughtie and valorous attempts: his fourth Conſulſhip was ſpent about the warres of Sextus, where he fought with the Teutons: and before that warre finiſhed, he razed out of the world the whole progenie of the Teutons. In his fifth Conſulſhip he planted his fight betwixt the Alpes and Rome, and in that battell Marius him ſelf being Conſull, and Q. Catulus Proconſul, a fortunate victorie enſued, farre beyond the expectation of the Romanes, and the admiration of ſtrangers, an hundred thouſand men being brought into the power of the Romans wherof ſome were ſlaine & ſome were ſlaues. By this victorie Marius deſerued, that Rome ſhould not repent her ſelfe of his birth, nor requite his acts with reproch. His ſixth Conſulſhip was giuē him as the crowne of his merits,

C. Marius his third Conſulſhip.

His fourth Conſulſhip.

His fifth Cōſulſhip.

Marius his great victorie which he had againſt the Cimbrians.

C. Marius his ſixth Conſulſhip.

yet he is not to be defrauded of the glorie, which during this Conſullſhip did of right belong vnto him, euen by the confeſſion of the enuious. Marius being the ſixt time Conſul, Saturninus one of the Tribunes of the people, did promulgate a lawe, that what lands or demeſnes Marius had gained in France by his expulſion of the Cimbrians from thence, ſhould be equally parted & deuided amongſt the people of Rome, and that euery Senator ſhould ſweare to this, thinking to bind them by their oath from diſpoſſeſſing and diſſeiſing the people of theſe alotmēts and purparties. Q. Metellus a Senator, againſt whom Saturninus had a burning ſtomacke, denied to ratifie that lawe by oath, wherupon he had day giuen him to appeare before the Senate. For Marius being wholly addicted to pleaſe the people in all things, which did not oppugne his owne profite, did greatly fauour the law. Metellus though he were ſupported in this action by many good and vertuous citizens, yet fearing ſome bloudſhed in the citie by maintaining that cauſe, committed himſelfe to voluntarie exile, and ſhortly after water & fire

Saturninus a broacher of ſedition.

Q. Metellus oppoſeth himſelfe againſt Saturninus.

Marius fauoureth the lawe of Saturninus.

Metellus cōmitteth himſelfe to voluntarie baniſhment.

fire was forbidden him, which was the title & ſtile of the baniſhment vſed in Rome. This Saturninus was afterward made the third time Tribune, and becauſe he feared that C. Memmius, who at that time ſued for the Cõſulſhip, would with maine force oppoſe himſelfe to his actions and enterpriſes, he gathered a garriſon of ſouldiers, and cauſed him to be ſlaine. Marius preſently rowzing himſelfe for the puniſhmẽt and reuenge of this proud Tribune, and by Senate-councell authoriſed, charged his bodie with harneſſe, and with a troupe of warlike citizens beſieged the Capitoll, which Saturninus and the Prætor Glancias, together with Saufeius the Quæſtor his adherents did hold as the caſtle of their defence. But Marius cutting in peeces the conduit pipes, enforced them to yeeld, and to ſubmit themſelues promiſing thẽ life, liuing, and libertie; but when he had them in his power, he made hauocke of them all leauing not one aliue; the houſe of Saturninus he razed from the loweſt foundation. VVhen the conſpiracie of Saturninus was appeaſed, there began of freſh a new quarell betwixt the Se-

Saturninus cauſeth C. Memmius to be ſlaine.

C. Marius beſiegeth the Capitol.

C. Marius putteth the conſpirators to death.

Saturninus his houſe deſtroyed by Marius.

nators and M. Liuius Druſus a noble Gentleman, eloquent and modeſt, nature being as bountifull vnto him, as fortune was iniurious; he had alwayes a great deſire to reſtore the former honor to the Senate, and to transferre the iudiciall power from the Nobles: for they being poſſeſt of that authoritie by the law of C. Gracchus, which is aboue mentioned, did practiſe extreme and brutiſh crueltie vppon manie excellent Senators and guiltleſſe Citizens, and amongſt the reſt was ſlaine P. Rutilius, a man in that age incomparable: yet the fortune of Druſus was ſuch, that he was croſſed and confronted by the Senate, in thoſe matters which he moued for the good & behoofe of the Senate, they either not perceiuing, or not willing to perceiue, that though the petitions which Druſus made as Tribune, and as of dutie he ought, ſounded and indeed tended to the profite of the people, yet his drift to be this, that the people hauing leſſer things graunted them, might permit greater to the Senate, that ſo giuing them a litle the reyne, they might enioy the fruite of libertie, but yet might eaſily be plucked in if there

The hard fortune of Druſus.

were

were anie feare of diſorder: which was the onely meane to preſerue the dignitie of the Senate, and to reſtraine the humours of the people, but the eyes of the Senators were ſo dazeled with enuie toward Druſus, with enmitie toward the people, and ſelfe-loue toward their owne perſons, that they did more allow the pernitious practiſes of the other Tribunes, then the dutifull meaning of Druſus: deſpiſing the reuerence wherwith Druſus did alwayes honour them, and yet digeſting the iniuries wherwith his fellow Tribunes did moleſt them: which vniuſt and abſurd dealing did euidently proceed from the gall of their enuie. Then this good Tribune hauing his mind ſurcharged with malcontentment, ſeeing that his honeſt purpoſe was maliciouſly peruerted, lacking patiẽce to beare his griefe, and conſtancie to perſeuere in his commendable intents, reſolued ſodainly in a deſperat paſſion to maintaine the faction of the Gracchi, to entertaine into his heart rebellion, to ſwarue from vertue, to proſtrate himſelfe to the violence of fortune, and being garded with a great multitude of vnknowne ſoldiers,

who were ſeditious Italians, whom Druſus laboured to make free-men of the Eſtate, he thought to terrifie the citie, but within a ſhort time he was ſlaine in his owne porch, his ſide being pierced with a knife, which ſheathed in his entrailes, and was left there ſticking and filling the mouth of the wound, but when he yeelded vp to the heauens his vitall ſpirit, caſting his eyes vpon the companie that ſtoode about him, & lamenting that diſmall chance, he breathed out theſe words at the laſt inſtant

Druſus is ſlaine.

„ and with the ſurrender of his ſoule: Tell me
„ my friends and kinsfolke, may the common-
„ weale at any time enioy a more faithfull citi-
„ zen, then I haue heretofore bene? This ende of life had that noble Gentleman, who if he had bene armed with patience, might haue triumphed ouer enuy. Caius Marius was now become the refuge and defender both of Senate and people: he was of bodie hardfauored, in maners rigorous, famous for warre, & odious in peace, vnſatiable in ambitious deſires, impatient in his wrath, and alwayes attempting ſome ſtrange noueltie: he did not long after valiantly endeuor to ſuppreſſe the

C. Marius in high reputation.

flames

flames and perillous ſcalefire of the Italian warre, which becauſe it was moſt dangerouſly begun and continued, & with great difficultie quenched and ended, I thinke it not amiſſe to make full deſcription thereof, laying for my foundation the cauſe which moued the Italians or Latines to reuolt from the Romans, and to breake their faith before conſtantly kept. But the cauſes of things are ſo ſecret & miſticall, being the moſt remote obiects, to which our vnderſtanding may aſpire, that we may eaſily be deceiued by diſguiſed and pretenced reaſons, whileſt we ſeeke for the true and eſſential cauſes. For to report things that be done it is eaſie, becauſe the eye and the tongue may diſpatch it, but to diſcouer and vnfold the cauſes of things, requireth braine, ſoule, and the beſt proweſſe of mans nature, wherefore to find out the cauſes of this warre, diligence muſt be vſed. This warre is of diuerſe men diuerſly named, ſome terme it the Italian, ſome the Marſian, ſome the Sociall war: all which haue ſufficient reaſon to make good their ſeuerall appellations. The Italian warre it was tearmed, becauſe it was raiſed by

ſuch Italians, as were in league with the Romanes, which was the occaſion of the entercourſe of manie good turnes and benefits betwixt them and the Romanes: for though they did not inioy the liberties of the city of Rome in ſuch large and ample maner, as the citizens or free men of that Citie, yet they poſſeſſed them in farre greater meaſure, then others which were meere ſtraungers to that Eſtate, and that by the law of ſocietie, which to the Romanes was alwayes ſacred and inuiolate: this warre therfore vpon their reuolt was termed Sociale, as maintained by them who had contracted & eſtabliſhed a league of ſocietie.

The Italian warre firſt attempted by the Marſians

The Marſian war it was called, becauſe the firſt commotion was attempted by the Marſians, a free people of Italie. The cauſe & the beginning of this war do in time greatly differ, for the cauſe hath a retroſpect to the firſt times of the Romane monarchie, when the people of Italie being greatly infeſted and endamaged by the continuall inuaſions of the Romanes, did watch oportunitie, and with ſerious expectation attended, if by anie poſſible meanes they might requite the Romanes with the

like,

like, and recouer their auncient rights and iuriſdictions, and at one inſtant breake both the league and ſhake off the feare which they then had of the Romanes, and which was the laſt marke of their enterpriſe, rather cõmaund then condition with the Romanes. But as there is no euill without excuſe, and no prætence without ſome colour of reaſon, and no wiles can be wanting to malicious & wrangling wits, therefore an occaſion was ſought for, whereby peace might be diſſolued, and diſcord warranted. Here now appeareth the error wherein Druſus was intangled. For they made him an inſtrument or lure to draw vnto them the free vſe of the Romane liberties, which in truth they did neither greatly deſire, nor ſtrongly hope for, but they looked for a repulſe, and thought that would be a good occaſion to ground their tumults vpon, and as it were a vaile for their leud endeuours: whereby it is euident that as the cauſe of this warre is ancient, ſo the beginning thereof is to be referred to the repulſe of Druſus, which happened ſixe hundred ſixtie and two yeares after the building of Rome. Theſe commo-

The repulſe of Druſus the beginning of the Italian warre.

tioners of Italie had this purpose and intent, at their festiual meetings to ioyne their heads and hands together, and so to proceed to the Citie, there to worke the death of the two Consuls Sex. Iulius Cæsar, and Martius Philippus: but this matter being discouered, they did presently put to death Seruilius Proconsull, who was sent vnto them at the first beginning of their stirres, by peaceable & reasonable meanes to appease and determine them, and all the other Romanes which were at Asculum, were slaine. This bloudie deed being reported at Rome, did greatly plunge the minds of the Romanes in doubt and sorrow. For this slaughter was as it were an Adamant to draw the other Italians, who did not conspire in this murther to their part, and as a firy beacon to the Romanes, to giue them warning not to prescribe too much in their prosperitie, but to be circumspect, & by all warie preuention to anticipate these euils, which if it should haue bene neglected of them, would presently haue turned to such a cloud of inconueniences, that the fire which did before serue to giue light, would after haue bent his force

Seruilius Proconsull slaine by the cõmotioners of Italie.

force to burne and consume: for the next neighbour to admonition is correction, and it is easier to auoide then to escape a danger. But the Romanes with prouident care foreseeing that the defection and reuolt of them who were linked in societie with them, might be a great maime to their Estate, & as it were a ladder for forreine and professed enemies to scale the walles of their Citie, did therefore in this war make speciall choise, both of Captaines and souldiers: for meane men were not to be employed in a warre of so great importance, and they that were vnskilfull, were not in the midst of these eminent dangers, to be trained and taught. And because they saw that the commodious ending and composing of this war, was the hinge whereupon the whole estate of the Common-weale did depende; therefore it was decreed by Senate, that both the Consuls (a rare thing in that Common-weale, and neuer done but when exceeding daunger was feared) should go in person to the managing of this warre. Neither were the Italiãs vnprouided or vnaduised: for they knew, that if they were cõquered, they should

fall from the eſtate of fellowes to be ſlaues, & their league ſhould neuer more be truſted, which them ſelues had broken: and if they ſhould enioy the victorie, that they ſhould then haue all the wealth of the world at commaund. This golden bootie being enameld with a ſweete deſire of reuenging old iniuries (for they had written them in marble with a pen of yron) did greatly incenſe their minds, and rauith their ſpirits with a burning affectiō to fight. The Marſians who brought the firſt ſtubble to kindle this flame, were gouerned by Silo Popedius, a man as it ſeemed by deſtiny oppoſed againſt the Romanes, to whoſe eares nothing was ſo delightfull as the report of a Romanes death, hating that hower in which he did not impeach their good eſtate. He in this reſpect was diuerſe from manie of his countrimen, in that he deteſted a Romane becauſe he was a Romane. VVherefore hauing ſingled out ſome of his factiō, who were partly by the inſtinct of their nature, partly by his inſtigation, obdurate and eager in hatred againſt the Romanes, hauing propoſed and ſhewed vnto them the ſcope and drifte where-

Silo Popedius a naturall enemy to the Romans.

whereunto his purpose did aime, and hauing disclosed the meanes, whereby he hoped to compasse and effect his designements, and lastly hauing declared vnto them the rewards which they might gaine by their valor, he did labour by this speech to inflame their furie,

I am moued and enforced to this new enter- » Silo Popedius his oration to the Matsians.
prise, not by anie ambitious desire of enhaun- »
cing my estate, but because I see a poison- »
ful baite of deceit hidden vnder the pretence »
of Societie, because I see too great charges & »
burdens to be imposed vpon vs, because I see »
leud forreiners to be our commaunders, and »
originarie Italians, though men of good de- »
sert, kept vnder the snaffle, and placed in the »
sinke-hole. I see the credite of our nation de- »
faced, the libertie destroyed, and the state o- »
uerthrowne, and for our great labours vnder- »
taken, and dangers sustained for the Romans, »
we haue this reward, that we are despised by »
them, and they haue not thought it sufficient »
to be aided by vs, vnlesse in the pride of their »
spirits they may insult vpon our neckes, men »
of insolent mindes, by nature iniurious to all »
other men and by fortune superiour. If a man »

» ſhould examine from the beginning, and as
» they ſay from the roote, the degrees of their
» eſtate, what iuſtice ſhall he find? nay what in-
» iuſtice ſhal he not find? The two twinnes who
» were the founders of their city, were baſtards,
» begotten by the rape of a holy virgin, and by
» deſtinie were caſt foorth as of no regard, vn-
» till a ſhe-wolfe feeling perhaps ſome ſauour
» of her owne nature in them, did with her dugs
» nouriſh them. After, when from milke they
» were growne to meate, they were fedde by a
» chough, and when they had attained to mans
» eſtate, nothing would pleaſe then but a king-
» dome, & a regall citie, the foundation wherof
» was ſolemnized by an augurie deriued from
» the flight of Eagles. Thus a moſt rauenous
» bird did ominate vnto them a monarchy, thus
» a moſt greedie beaſt whoſe hungry teeth, and
» vnſatiable appetite no pray could content,
» did giue them milke, thus a moſt theeuiſh and
» buſie brained birde was their foſter-father.
» Theſe were the portents and ſignes of their
» Citie, that it ſhould be a daughter verie like
» to the parents: theſe did prognoſticate vnto
» vs the ſpoiles, rapines, inuaſions and violent
incroch-

Romulus & Remus baſtards.

Nouriſhed by a wolfe.

incrochments that ſhould afterward be made »
by the Romanes. And for that cauſe Romulus »
wold not make or appoint limits and bounds »
for his kingdome, that he might by force en- »
ter into euery ſoile as his own. But what wold »
not Romulus do, which had the heart to ſhed » Remus is
the bloud of his owne and onely brother? » ſlaine by
And thus was their citie cõſecrated by bloud: » Romulus.
but ſome of the Romanes do with impuden- »
cie denie this fact, ſome with modeſtie do »
doubt of it, ſome with griefe do conceale it, »
and they which by cleare proofe are enforced »
to confeſſe it, do with this imagination molli- »
fie the fault, that it was done by the conſent »
but not by the hand of Romulus. But whether »
he commaunded it, or committed it, he was »
a murtherer. After this hainous crime enſued »
the rape of the Sabine virgins, the rauiſhment » The rape
of whom they excuſe, becauſe they would not » of the Sa-
yeeld their franke conſent to mariage: ſurely » bine vir-
they cannot iuſtly be reproued, if they, being » gins.
a noble people, did denie mariage to ſuch a »
baſe aſſemblie of ſhepheards, heardſmen and »
hoggards, newly crept out of the ſtraw: for in »
that great aſſemblie of newe vpſtartes there »

» were but an hundred men, who were lawfully
» begotten, and these forsooth were at the first
» made Senators. But nothing doth more be-
» wray the vniust dealing and lacke of consci-
» ence in the Romanes, then the lamentable e-
» state of the Saguntines, who had bin alwayes
» verie constant in fellowship and friendship
» toward them, and whilest they did keep their
» faith to them, they lost their Citie. Saguntus
» was fiercely besieged by Hanniball, which
» when the Romanes heard, they sent presently
» Embassadours to Hannibal to dehort him frō
» the siege, but being despised they went to
» Carthage, and there framed a complaint a-
» gainst Hannibal, pretending that he had bro-
» ken the league, but failing of their purpose,
» they returned to Rome. Amids these delaies,
» that poore citie within eight or nine moneths
» after the laying of siege was destroied of the
» Carthaginians, when the inhabitāts were be-
» fore consumed with famine, and one of them
» did eate anothers carkasse, and being wearie
» of the world, because they should not come
» as captiues into the enemies power, they
» made a common fire, into which, when one of
them

The Romane embassadors are despised of Hānibal.

The miserable famin of the Sagūtines.

them had ſlaine another with the ſword, they »
were throwne. How manifeſt and manifold is »
the abuſe which they offred to the Carthagi- »
nians? They did incite Maſiniſſa the neigh- »
bour of the Carthaginians to quarrell with » Maſiniſſa quarelleth with the Carthaginians.
them, who prætended that the Carthaginiãs »
ought to haue no more land then Dido the »
Tyrian queene did enioy, which was as much »
as could be meaſured by the hide of an Oxe »
being cut into thongs. But could their preſcri- »
ption & poſſeſſion during the ſpace of ſeauen »
hundred yeares be ſo eaſily diſſipated? by the »
ſame reaſon the Romanes ſhould content thẽ »
ſelues with the cottages and cabbins, which »
firſt they inhabited. But the Carthaginians »
being greatly vexed by Maſiniſſa and the Ro- »
manes aſſiſting him, did fall proſtrate at the »
feete of the Romanes, and did grieuouſly cõ- »
plaine of the intollerable couetouſneſſe and »
pride of Maſiniſſa, and requeſted with teares, »
that of three things they might obtaine one: »
namely, that either they might equally de- »
bate the whole cauſe and conrrouerſie before »
the regents of ſome common-weale leagued »
in ſocietie with them both, and indifferently »

» affected toward them, or that they would
» suffer them to defend thēselues by iust warre
» against the vniust armes of Masinissa, or lastly,
» if fauour did more preuaile with them then
» truth, that they would once determine and
» certainly set downe, what and how much they
» should yeeld to Masinissa. But the Romanes
» did not one whit helpe these afflicted persons,
Scipio sent as vmpier betwixt Masinissa & the Carthaginians. » and that good Affricanus, whom they so
» much commended, being sent as an indif-
» ferent vmpire betwixt them and their ene-
» mie, did make their discord a great deale
» more: and the desolate Carthaginians, when
» they were enforced to prouide for thē selues,
» were accused at Rome for the breach of
» league, and hereupon they were declared to
» be enemies. They had straite commandemēt
» from the Romans to restore the Romane ho-
» stages, to deliuer their money and treasure
» into the hands of the Romanes, and by that
» meane to purchase the safetie of their Citie:
» all this was done. VVell this was not enough:
» the Romanes must haue their ships, their mu-
» nition and weapons: they deliuered these
» likewise: yet this suffised not: the Romanes

must

must haue their Citie, and the Carthaginians
must build some other Citie farre from this:
this was graunted vnto them, and Carthage
the faireſt Citie of all Affricke was by them
preſently burnt, and turned euen with the
ground. Here when the Romanes were preſ-
ſed and vrged with their promiſe, their anſwer
was, that in ſpeaking of the ſafetie of the Ci-
tie, they did meane the ſafetie of the citizens
and inhabitants, not of the Citie which did
conſiſt of ſtone and timber: O ſnares! ô im-
poſtures! ô ſophiſtrie! can the Romans with-
out bluſhing obiect perfidiouſneſſe and tre-
cherie to the Carthaginians? Surely as they
dealt with them being leagued in ancient ſo-
cietie with them, ſo I am afraid they wil deale
with vs. And I do the rather ſuſpect it, becauſe
I ſee they will ſtil haue a difference betweene
them ſelues and vs. Herein lieth a myſterie,
I will not ſay of the Punicke fraude, but of the
Romane arte. And when it pleaſeth them to
drawe the curtaine, we ſhall be made their
ſlaues, and our goods their dearling. VVher-
fore I requeſt you all with all the vehemencie
and force of my minde, that you would with

The Citie of Carthage burnt.

» one heart contend for the recouerie & de-
» fence of liberty, and that you would at length
» aime at such a common-weale, wherein right
» and law, not the priuate will of powerful men
» may beare sway. To the which purpose I know
» all the other people of Italie ioyned in league
» and fellowship with vs, will affoord the dili-
» gent assistance of their persons, and the best
» wealth of their treasuries. As for me, such hath
» my birth, such hath my education bene, that I
» preferre the dignitie of my countrey, and the
» libertie of this common-weale before all
» things in the world. VVhich if you do so desi-
» rously embrace, I am fully resolued to lay my
» life open to all dangers, without anie regard
» of estate or priuate respect: if not, I will lay
» downe weapons, and leaue the estate of the
» common-wealth as it now standeth, to your
» owne discretion.

The Marsians hearing the name of liberty, did greedily receiue it, and therefore applauding to Popedius, as informing them of that which was most for their vse, because there appeared in his speech no signes of couetousnesse or ambition, but an earnest and vehement

hement deſire of publique good, did reſolue to follow him as their generall.

They had no ſooner ſet vp flagge of defiance againſt the Romanes, but there reſorted vnto them a huge multitude of all the prouinces of Italie: ſo readie are diſloyall perſons to caſt off the yoke of obedience, or common ſocietie, when they haue gotten a head. The metamorphoſis truly was verie great, to ſee the Citie of Rome enuironed on all ſides by foes, which before was garded by friends, & there was none almoſt left to defend the City but the citizens, and nothing to defend the citizens but the Citie. The people that reuolted were the Marſians, the Samnites, the Vmbrians, the Veſtini, the Irpini, the Lucani, the Marruſini, the Aſculani, the Peligni, the Piſani: and they were led by great Captaines, men of valour and ſeruice, hauing as great deſire to fight with the Romanes, as the Romanes had to rule ouer them. The moſt of them were of ſo choiſe courage and conduction, that the Romanes had before in many warres relyed vpon their ſeruice. But yet the name of a Romane was ſuch a ſcepter to their ſpirits, that

they were ſtill kept in awe and order without anie thought of reuolting. Theſe men were now quite altered, as if they had lately bene at ſome mart of ſoules, and had exchaunged their mindes with ſome men by nature enraged againſt the Romanes: and it is greatly to be wondred how the mightie power of the diuine Maieſtie, doth ſway the moments of things, and ſorteth them in peremptorie maner to ſtraunge and vnlooked for effects, making reaſon blind, pollicie aſtoniſhed, ſtrēgth feeble, and valour daſtardly, turning loue into hatred, feare into furie, boldneſſe into trembling, and in the circuite of one minute making the conquered perſon a conqueror. The Romanes did not in anie warre ſhewe more wiſedome and courage, which two things are in common vnderſtanding repugnant, becauſe wiſedome for the moſt part procureth feare in dangerous accidents, which is oppoſite to courage, and courage cauſeth raſhneſſe which is contrarie to wiſedome. But ſo were their fortunes croſſed, & the lot of warre was ſo variable, that this warre was reſolutely vndertaken of them, vnhappily continued, and

victo-

victoriously concluded. The Romane armie had two Generals: namely P. Rutilius one of the Consuls, whose Lieutenants were Cn. Pōpeius Strabo, Q. Cæpio, C. Perperna, C. Marius, Valerius Messalla: and L. Cæsar the other Consul, who had these Lieutenants, P. Lentulus, T. Didius, P. Licinius Crassus, L. Cornelius Sylla, M. Marcellus, all famous Captains, men of excellent desert and heroicall qualities, and the most of them fit not onely to manage a warre, but a kingdom, yea an Empire: yet of all these none did obtaine the victorie during the first yeare of their fight, C. Marius and L. Cæsar onely excepted, yet Cæsar was not long before with his whole armie discomfited, and Marius did with great difficultie atchieue one victorie, which was the beginning of a greater warre. The Consuls did thus dispose the encounters of them selues and their Lieutenants, L. Cæsar was opposed to Vettius Cato, who led a wing of the Marsian armie, but Cæsar being ouer mated by a man of greater wisedome and magnanimitie, was enforced to flie, and after the slaughter of two thousand of his men, being hotely pursued &

enchased of the enemie, was constrained (for necessitie will affoord no choise) to take Æsernia for his refuge. C. Perperna did encounter P. Præsenteius, who put him likewise to flight, & deuested him of his armie, for which cause he was discharged of his Lieutenancie, and now was C. Marius sought vnto by the Consuls, to whom he yeelded such assistance, that he rather seemed to be their protector then their champion. P. Rutilius to reuenge the death of Q. Cæpio, who was slaine by the ambush of Popedius, and the quarrell of his fellow Consul, vpon the Marsians, did assay them by battell, but lost a great number of men, & in the end lost himselfe, being slaughtered in the midst of his enemies. C. Marius with a fresh courage renewed the fight, & put to flight with extreme labor Vettius Cato the fatall enemie to both the Consuls. But the messenger who brought the newes of this victorie of Marius to the Romane campe, did meete there another messenger, who reported vnto them, that Egualius one of the enemies campe had surprised Venafrum a towne of great strength: that M. Lamponius another

C. Perperna discharged of his Lieutenancie.

Q. Cæpio slaine.

P. Rutilius slaine.

C. Marius putteth Vettius Cato to flight.

of

of their enemies had slaine eight hundred of the armie of P. Licinnius Crassus, and had put the residue to flight, that C. Papius Mutilus their enemie, had brought Nola a flourishing Colonie of the Romanes into his power, together with Q. Posthumius their Prætor, that he had also taken Stauia, Minturna and Salernum, and did nowe besiege Acerra a chiefe towne. These newes succeeding the other did make the Romanes to heare with ioy, and to remember with sorow. But no better fortune did ensue: for M. Marcellus being assigned for the defence of Æsernia was taken prisoner by the Samnites, who surprised that Colonie. Cn. Pompeius was by three Captaines of the aduerse part, Iudacilius, Æsranius, and Ventidius fiercely encountring, driuen to the village of Firmo, and there besieged. L. Cæsar had a prosperous victorie against the Samnites, but C. Marius fighting against the Marsians with doubtfull euent, did recompence the death of euerie enemie with the losse of his owne souldiers: so constant is the fortune of warre in inconstancie. Now was come the second yeare of this daungerous warre, which

C. Marius fought equally against the Marsians.

continued old broiles, and made new Consuls Cn. Pompeius Strabo, L. Portius Cato, both which were by the decree of the Senate enioyned to take vpon them the charge of this warre. They brought some new Lieutenants in the place of some that were dead, and some that were discharged. The succeeding Lieutenants were A. Albinius, Colconius, Luceius, A. Gabinius, Sulpitius, L. Muræna, Cæcilius Pius, Mamercus Æmilius. It seemeth that Rome in these dayes was a verie schoole of warfare, which did yeeld the supply of such excellent Captaines, after the departure of Captaines not much more excellent. C. Marius vpon a disliking conceiued by the Consul Portius (priuate humor is alwayes an enemie to publike good) was discharged of his place. But so it happened, that the Romanes changed their fortune with their Consuls, but the Italians were more daunted and disanimated by the continuance of the warre, then encouraged by the increase of their victories. For a base spirit cannot ioy in any honorable matter, & nothing more deuoureth the heart of a rebellious or trecherous person, then the

C Marius disliked by the Consul Portius,

inward fire of a glowing conſcience. L. Sylla had a notable victorie againſt the Samnites, and did ranſacke their tents. Cn. Pompeius did conſtraine the Veſtini, the Peliani, and the Æſculani, and the Piſani to yeeld vnto him. Sylla did kil Cluentius a Captaine of the contrarie part at Nola, and he brought vnder his power the Irpini. A. Gabinius did fight proſperouſly againſt the Lucani, and tooke many of their great townes, but when he wold haue ſpoiled their tents, he was ſlaine. Sulpitius hauing ſlaine all the ſouldiers of the Marrucini, did reduce that whole region into the ſubiection of the Romanes. L. Muræna and Cæcilius Pius had manie encounters againſt the Marſians, and in the ende enforced them to yeeld, but Popedius their Captaine the author of this warre was ſlaine in fight, in which war Portius Cato was alſo ſlaine, not through his owne default, nor by the valor of his enemies, but through the malicious ſtomacke of the ſonne of C. Marius, who in reuenge of his fathers quarell, did throw his dart at him, and with a deadly wound did make him fall proſtrate to the ground: but becauſe he could

Syllaes victorie againſt the Sãnites.

Cn. Pomp. Strabo his victories.

Sylla killeth Cluentius.

A. Gabinius after a proſperous fight is ſlaine.

Sulpitius bringeth the Marrucini to obedience.

Popedius is ſlaine.

Portius Cato ſlaine.

not be discerned in such confusion of fight, & in the heate of the battell, he was not impeached for this trecherous murder. The Romans hauing enioyed and accomplished all things according to their desire, returned with the great ioy and gratulation of their fellow citizens. Cn. Pompeius, for his ample victories & great desert was rewarded with a triumph. Thus was the Italian warre being left to the Romanes as the legacie of Drusus ended and appeased, which wrought two notable effects: for it brought the Italians from societie to seruitude, and refusing the bridle they receiued the yoke, and were euer after kept vnder the chaine of perpetuall commaund, but the Romanes it made glorious and inuincible: for their iust warres had alwayes good successe, and their vniust warres or inuasions, could not (as may partly appeare by this Italiã vprore) by forraine warre be reuenged. But for the cause hereof let no man make search or inquirie, sith it is no where to be foũd saue only in God his decretall booke, the contents whereof as I cannot know, so the comments of man in this matter I may not beleeue. This thing

Cn. Põpeius Strabo triumpheth.

thing therefore as vailed with vtmoſt darkeneſſe, I do with all humbleneſſe leaue to him who hath reſerued it to himſelfe: & this onely I obſerue, which euerie man may note in the ſequele of this hiſtorie, that the Romans were puniſhed by the Romanes for their wrongs & iniuries (if I may vſe coniecture in ſo thicke a miſt) done to their neighbours and others. Not long after the death of Druſus the Conſulſhip inueſted vpon Q. Pompeius & L. Cornelius Sylla, who before his victory could not be too highly commended, and after neuer ſufficiently diſpraiſed: ſo contrarie and oppoſite he was to him ſelfe, being more mercifull in the combat, then after the conqueſt, and Sylla fighting in the field was not ſo cruell as Sylla triumphing in the towne. He was nobly deſcended, being the ſixth man from Cornelius Rufinus, who was one of the chiefe Captaines in the warre againſt Pyrrhus. For the glorie and credite of that familie had bene long intermitted, and was almoſt periſhed, till it was raiſed and rampired vp by Sylla to the ancient grace, and reſtored with an ouerplus to the former dignitie. Sylla did a long

Sylla is made Conſul.

Sylla his cõtrary nature

His diſcent.

time behaue him selfe so modestly and contentedly, that he seemed to be without all intent for suing for the Consulship, but after his Prætorship being much renowned by the Italian warre, & for his great exploits in France, hauing slaine the stoutest Captains of the aduerse part, he tooke stomacke by reason of his good successe, and making sute for the Consulship, was made Consull, not one citizen almost withdrawing his consent, and that honour he purchased when he was eight and fortie yeares olde. At that time Mithridates king of Pontus, a sharpe and victorious souldier, being sometime great in prosperitie, and at all times great in courage, in counsell wise, in strength mightie, in hatred against the Romanes another Hannibal, had taken and possest Asia, where he put to death all the Romanes that did there inhabite: the region of Asia did by lot happē to Sylla as his prouince, he addressing him selfe thitherward with as great speed as he could possibly make, came at length to Nola, which he besieged, for that Citie did most stubburnly resist the Romans, reuolting from that faithfulnesse which the Nolanes

Mithridates an enemy to the Romans.

Sylla besieged Nola.

Nolanes did religiously obserue and exhibite to the Romanes in the Carthaginian warres: but not long after the laying of this siege, he was abridged of his Generallship by Sulpitius a Tribune, who being in wealth, fauor, friendship, wit, and courage great amongst the Romanes, hauing before sought dignitie by desert, did now by his leud decrees and disloyall practises deserue to loose his dignitie. He assigned to C. Marius an imperiall præheminence, & the regimēt of all the prouinces that belonged to the citie of Rome, which honors as Marius did ambitiously desire, so Sulpitius did iniuriously dispose: and therewithall he enacted that Sylla should be called from Asia, and Marius should be Generall in his place; manie other pernitious lawes he established, both intollerable and detestable: for conclusion, he ended in murther, procuring by his bloud-thirsty seruants the death of one of the Pompeys, sonne to Q. Pompeius, and Syllaes sonne in lawe. Sylla hearing of this sodaine change, and being solicited by the letters of his deerest friends, made speedie returne to the Citie, which hauing taken by force of

Sulpitius a seditious Tribune alereth the state

The ambitiō of Marius.

Murder committed by Sulpitius.

Syllaes reuenge vpon the seditious

armes he droue out of it the twelue authours of this newe and damnable faction, amongst whom was C. Marius and his sonne, together with P. Sulpitius the first beginner of discord, Sulpitius being taken by Syllaes horsemen in the Laurentine fennes was there beheaded, & for the guerdon of his cruelty, his head being afterward conueyed to Rome, was erected vpon a pinnacle ouer the barre of the Senate house. C. Marius (a cleare mirrour of this worlds vnconstancie) to whom if you will place him amongst the fortunate, you must assigne the highest seate, if amongst the vnfortunate, the lowest, hauing before enioyed all pleasures which prosperitie could yeeld, and now suffering all troubles which aduersitie could bring) after his sixth consulship, and the sixtieth yeare of his age, for the auoyding of Syllaes horsemen, stripped himselfe naked, & flying to a marrish of reedes did there hide himselfe, plunging so deepely into the mud, that nothing could be seene of him but his eyes and nostrels, who being afterward descried, was drawne by a thong of leather tied to his neck, into the prison of Minturna. There

The extreme miserie of C. Marius.

was

was sent to kil him a captiue slaue, whom Marius had taken prisoner in the battel which he fought against the Cimbrians: this bloudie Cimbrian assaying to strike Marius, was so dainly amazed, and terrified by the maiestie of his countenance, though Marius was then full of yeares, full of miserie, and void of weapons: but the slaue seeing so bright a starre in so darke a dungeon, reuerencing the man whom he had before feared, and perswading himselfe that it was impossible for one man to worke his death, who not long before had almost destroyed the whole nation of the Cimbrians, left him aliue, and in trembling maner departed from his presence. The Minturnians because they held the worthinesse of Marius in high reputation, deliuered him out of prison, and attiring him with conuenient apparell, bestowing vpon him a pilgrims viande, which might for a season relieue his hunger, dismissed him out of their Citie. He hauing ouertaken his sonne at Æmaria, directed his voyage vnto Affricke, where he led a poore and wretched life in the ruines and desolate rēnants of the Citie of Carthage. Sylla leuied

A captiue slaue sent to kill Marius.

The Minturniās friends to Marius.

an armie & renewed his iourney toward Asia, (the yeare wherein Sylla was Consull, was the first yeare in which the Romane souldiers did slay their Consull; for then Q. Pompeius being sellow Consull with Sylla, was slaine by the seditious armie of Cn. Pompeius Proconsull.) After the broiles of Marius and Sulpitius the tumults of Cinna succeeded, who was not one iote more temperate then those disorderly and enormous quarellers, or rather furious and traiterous conspirers. He was Cõsull with Cn. Octauius, who because one of them namely Cinna, fauoured Marius, and the other Sylla, fell to a sodaine iarre, & maintaining seuerall armies in the Citie, caused much terror, and some bloudshed. Cinna was expulsed the Citie by the power of Octauius and the Senators, his Consulship was abrogated, and in his place L. Cornelius Merula, Iupiters priest was elected. Cinna hauing corrupted the Centurions, Tribunes & souldiers with hope of liberalitie, was admitted of that armie (which was as yet about Nola) for their Captaine, and hauing sworne all his souldiers to obeisance and loyaltie, he marched in his Consul-

Q. Pompeius slaine.

Cinna beginneth a new broyle.

Cinna is expulsed the City.

Cinna is made Captaine of a seditious army.

Consul-robes toward Rome, his armie consisting of three hūdred bands of good souldiers amounting in the view of spials to the number of thirtie legions: but though he had manie souldiers and much courage, he lacked notwithstanding factioners and fauourites to vphold him, and was destitute of popular credit, which might bolster and support his doings. For supplying of which want, he called from banishment C. Marius and his sonne, with all the other Romanes which were before by Syllaes horsemen chased out of the Citie. VVhilest Cinna was thus preparing warre against his mother towne, Cn. Pompeius father to that great state, of whom we shall hereafter speake, whose worthie actes in the Marsian warre, together with his victorie at Asculum, was verie beneficiall and commodious to the common-weale, being frustrate of hope to continue the Proconsulship, shewed him selfe verie indifferent and equall to the factions, doing all things for his proper and priuate good, and lying in waite for oportunitie to serue his owne turne and aduancement, enclining his armie this way and that way, now as a

Cinna calleth C. Marius and his sonne from banishment.

Cn. Pompeius father to Pompey the great his dissembling and vnconstancy.

fauourer to Cinna, & now as a friend to Sylla, following fortune by coniectures, and determining to ioyne with him, who by all likelihood should be most puissant: at length he encountred with Cinna before the citie wals, where after a maine sea of bloudshed, the Romanes that were vpon the walles, beholding the slaughter of their brethren, friends and kinsfolke vnder the wals, the battell was fully finished, but the victorie was doubtfull. Not long after Cn. Pōpeius died, by whose death the souldiers of Cinna conceiued so great ioy and gladsomnesse, that they forgat the finall ouerthrow of their fellow souldiers, and the Romans did bestow their reuenge vpō Pompey being dead, which they did owe to him being aliue. Cinna and Marius did not without great hauocke of men and matrons inuade the citie: but Cinna entred first, and published a lawe touching the receiuing of Marius, then C. Marius entred the wals with a most fatall and daungerous returne to the citie of Rome. Nothing had bene more bloudie then his entrance, if his death had not shortly ensued: for hauing possessed the citie, he

A great fight betwixt Cinna and Cn. Pōpeius

Cinna entreth the city

C. Marius recalled frō banishment, entreth the citie.

he was more vnſatiate in his crueltie then any rauenous tiger, and more mercileſſe in his tragicall punishments, then any furie, breathing nothing but bloud, and delighting in nothing but murder, neither did the licentious rage of his wrath content it ſelfe with the bloud of meaner men, but it ſeiſed vpon the ſtates and ſtarres of the citie. Then did Octauius one of the Conſuls, a man of a mild & douelike humor, render vp his life into the pawes of theſe wolues: and Merula, who a little before the returne of Cinna had through feare renounced the Conſulſhip, cut in peeces his owne veines, and ſprinkling his lukewarme bloud vpon the altar, vpon which he had often ſacrificed the bloud of beaſts, and intreating the gods for the execratiō of Cinna, to whom he had often prayed for the preſeruation of the citie, gaue vp his fainting ghoſt in a great agonie of mind. M. Antonius the chiefe of the citie, and the Phœnix of eloquence, was ſlain at the commaundement of Marius and Cinna, by the ſwords of their ſouldiers, whome by the ſweetneſſe of his eloquence he did a long time reſtraine and delay from the killing

Octauius put to death by the crueltie of Marius

Merula cutteth in peeces his owne veines.

M Antonius the Oratour put to death by Marius & Cinna.

Q. Catulus cauſe of his owne death.

of him. Q. Catulus a man famous for his vertues and valour in the Cimbrian warre, the glorie of which he did participate with Marius, as we haue aboue reported, when he was hunted to death by theſe greedie bloud-hounds, ſhut himſelf into a narrow cloſet that was newly pargited with lime, and hauing there a fire of burning coales, which might raiſe vp a ſudden dampe, ſtopping his breath with a vaporous and dankiſh ſmoke, departed this world, rather according to his owne wiſh then his enemies will: then were the ſtreetes, channels, theaters, market places, and temples ſtrewed and ouerſpread with carcaſſes, ſo that it could hardly be iudged, whether theſe two tyrants did ſlay more that they might obtaine the victorie, or more were put to the ſword that they might ſafely enioy the victorie. For euerie one to whome Marius would not reach out his hand by way of ſalutation, was immediatly ſlaine. The common weale was now in a tottering and ruinous eſtate: couetouſneſſe was the cauſe of crueltie, and the more wealthie a man was, the more faultie he was iudged: the accuſer of a rich man had his

pay

pay and reward out of the coffers of him that was accuſed: and then was profite and honeſtie confounded and made one. Afterward Cinna and Marius were Conſuls, Cinna was now the ſecond time Conſul, Marius the ſeuenth time, who in that conſulſhip died, a Romane in war terrible to his enemies, in peace to his friends, and at all times impatient of quietneſſe: in his place was choſen Valerius Flaccus. Cinna being now the ſole regent of Italie, the greateſt part of the Nobilitie fled to Sylla into Achaia, who in the meane time did ſo fight with Mithridates his Lieutenants and Coronels about Athens, Macedonia, and Beotia, that he tooke Athens, and made great hauocke of his enemies. But if any impute the rebellion of theſe times vnto the citie of Athens, he is altogether ignorant of the truth. For the faith of the Athenians was alwaies ſo firme and inuiolate towards the Romanes, that euery action which was performed without blemiſh or ſtaine of promiſe, was ſaid to be done by an Athenian faith: but they being heauily oppreſſed by the vnſufferable vſage of Mithridates his hoſt, were beſieged of their

C. Marius dieth.

The Athenians faithfull to the Romanes.

friends, when they were held captiue of their enemies, and obaying neceſſitie ſlayed their bodies within the wals, though their minds were without, and entirely with the Romans. Sylla did then conduct his armie into Aſia, where he found Mithridates very tractable & ſuppliant vnto him whome he puniſhed with the paiment of a great ſumme of mony, and with the loſſe of part of his nauie, enioyning him to depart out of Aſia, and out of all the prouinces which he had vniuſtly inuaded, and conſtraining him to content himſelfe with the inheritance diſcended from his father, which was the kingdome of Pontus: he tooke from Mithridates the Romane priſoners without ranſome, and vſed great ſeueritie againſt the traiterous reuolts, and runagates. Sylla hauing thus appeaſed and qualified forraine affaires, went by ſea toward Rome, and in the way met him certaine ambaſſadours from the Parthian king, which were ſent to gratulate his victorie, he being the firſt of the Romanes to whome the king of Parthia ſent ambaſſadours. There was nothing more worthie among Syllaes labours, then that whole three yeares

Silla his hard conditions of peace concluded with Mithridates.

The king of Parthia ſendeth Ambaſſadours to Sylla.

yeares ſpace, whilſt the factioners of Cinna & Marius did beſiege the townes of Italie, he neither pretended any fauour toward them, neither did he omit that which he had in hād, namely the ſubduing and vanquiſhing of forraine enemies: for he knew when external tumults were ended, he might with more eaſe extinguiſh domeſticall enemies. Before the comming of Sylla, Cinna in a mutinie of his owne ſouldiers was ſlaine, a captaine more worthie to be adiudged to death by the diſcretion of the conquerour, then to looſe his life through the furie of his ſouldiers, of whom it may truly be ſaid, that he aduentured thoſe things which no vertuous man wold attempt, & that he brought thoſe things to paſſe, which none but a valiant ſouldier could accompliſh. His fellow Cōſul Carbo hauing no colleague did now prædominate and beare ſway. Sylla hauing entred Italie, it was thought he came not as a reuenger of warre, but as an authour of peace, with ſuch quietneſſe and mildneſſe he lead his armie through Calabria and Apulia, with a great & ſpeciall regard of the growing corne, of meddowes, of men, of caſtles,

Cinna is ſlaine.

Sylla paſſeth quietly thorough Italie.

and cities, and indeed he assayed by lawfull articles, and equall conditions, to appease the discord, but peace could not please them which were immoderatly couetous. Sillaes army did daily increase, euery good and discrete Italian making recourse vnto him, and he had a most happy victory about Capua against Scipio and Norbanus Consuls, Norbanus being ouercome by fight, Scipio being forsaken of his army, yet Sylla gaue him leaue to depart, without hurt or hinderance, so vnlike was he to himselfe in his warres, and after his victory, for whilst the victorie was fresh, he was more mild then equitie required, but when peace had taken roote, he was more cruell then any barbarous Scythian, for Q. Sertorious the fury and firebrand of that rebellious warre, which not long after ensued, being disarmed by Sylla, was sent away in safety, and many others he did with the same clemency intreate: of purpose, as I thinke, that he might giue an example of a double and diuerse mind in one man, and by that meane shroud and couer the contents of his heart. At that time to fill vp the measure

Sylla dismisseth Sertorius without hurt.

of

of publike mishap, in the city of Rome, where before men did emulate one another in vertuous actions, now they did combate and contend in malicious practises, & he thought himselfe the best man, that was most wicked and iniurious. Sylla had three mighty aduersaries, Carbo, and C. Marius, the sonne of Marius that was the seauenth time Consull, which both were Consuls whilst Sylla rong an allarme at the gates of Preneste, and Pontius Telesinus, who leuying an army of the Samnites, did stoutly confront Sylla before the walles of Preneste, he was an Italian borne, but was not free of the city of Rome, a valiant souldier and a great enemy to a Romane name, who stood in defence of Preneste, but not with the Consuls. This Telesinus conducting forty thousand fighting men ioyned battell with Sylla at Collina, and brought both him and the commō-weale to extreame danger: for Rome was not in greater feare, when the tents of Hanniball were but three miles distant from her walles. Telesinus did greatly encourage his souldiers, saying that the day of their battell was the last period of »

Silla fighteth with Telesinus a Samnite.

« the Romane glorie, and he cried that Rome,
« Rome must be throwne downe, and razed frō
« the foundations, adding therewithall that
« there wold neuer be wanting inuadors of the
« Italian liberties, as long as the wood stoode
« where such wolues were harboured. At the first houre of the night the Romane armie reuiued their courage, Telesinus the next day after was found halfe dead, bearing the countenance rather of a conqueror then of a man subdued, whose head being cut off Sylla cōmaunded to be caried along the streetes of Prenestе. C. Marius, his life being in a desperate case, was faine to creepe through certaine holes of the earth to escape his enemies, but he was slaine of Syllaes souldiers that were appointed for that purpose, of which towardly gentleman, what opinion Sylla caried, a man may easily coniecture: for when he was slaine he intitled himselfe Sylla the fortunate, which had indeed bene true if he had ended his life with his victories. For hauing entred the citie and vsurped the Dictatorship, which had bene an hundred and twentie yeares intermitted, (for the last Dictator before Sylla was

C. Marius the younger is slaine by Syllaes souldiers.

Sylla vsurpeth the Dictatorship.

was made the firſt yeare after Hannibals departure out of Italie, ſo that it was apparant, that the Romanes did not ſo much deſire the vſe of a Dictator, as they did feare his tyrannie) he began preſently to broach the bloud of citizens, hauing alreadie drawne to the bottome the bloud of ſtraungers: foure legions of ſouldiers, who had bene of the contrarie faction, and had now vpon couenant of life ſubmitted themſelues to his mercie, calling in vaine vpon the faith of a Romaine ſoldier, he cauſed to be ſlaine: fiue thouſand of that armie which fought againſt him at Preneſte, being promiſed life by P. Cethegus his Lieutenant, he put to a ſudden and vnlooked for death, and cauſed their ioynts to be plucked in peeces, and commaunded that they ſhould be diſperſed and caſt abrode in the waſtes and mores. After theſe great and extreme cruelties, he put in practiſe the heauie penaltie of proſcription, which if it had died with Sylla, would haue beene a great part of the Romane happineſſe: by that meanes he brought to paſſe, that whoſe names ſoeuer he writin the table of proſcription, ſhould be

Silla cauſeth the ſouldiers of Preneſte to be ſlaine.

Proſcription put in practiſe by Sylla.

vpon their attachemẽt presently put to death, their goods also were subiect to sale, euery one taking the benefit to whome Sylla would graunt it: neither was he content to rage against them onely which had before opposed themselues to him, but the most quiet and innocent citizens for the greatnesse of their wealth he depriued also of life, and against silly women did he bend his wrath, as not satisfied with the death of men: and, which was a signe of a Thracian crueltie, as soone as the heads of the slaine citizens were parted from their trembling corses, breathing as yet, their faces being not wholly depriued of a vitall bloud, he did gaze vpon them, and tosse the in his hands that he might feed on them with his eyes, though he could not crush them with his teeth. VVith what sauagenesse did he behaue himselfe in the killing of M. Marius, whose eyes were pluckt out before his death, and euery part of his bodie was sundred and disioynted: and at that instant he enforced his sword through the bowels of M. Pletorius, because he seemed to be grieued with the torture of M. Marius. O extreme punisher of pitie

M. Marius slain by Silla.

Sylla his rage against M. Pletorius.

tie and compaſſion, to whome it ſeemed a crime not to conſent to crueltie. Neither did he ſpare the dead, for the aſhes of C. Marius the elder he cauſed to be raked out of the graue and throwne into a riuer. Sylla whileſt he ſought the victorie, was to the Romanes a Scipio, whilſt he vſed it a very Mithridates. Many other bloudſheds he did commit, and more would he haue committed, had not the terrour of a guiltie conſcience followed him, with the blazing brand of his vexed ſoule, which torment ſome cal an ecſtaſie, ſome melancholie, ſome madneſſe, but I denying it to be any one of theſe, allow it to be all theſe, doubtleſſe it is a thing ſooner felt thē known, not to be auoided by medicine but by true felicitie. In this perplexitie he died, and yet ceaſſed not the ciuill or rather vnciuil and vnbrotherly diſcord: thus was Rome the famous citie of Europe, the mother and nurce of worthie Senators, the miracle of nations, the epitomie of the world, the kingdome of Mars, and the ſeauenheaded ſoueraigne of many prouinces exceedingly ſhaken with theſe quarrels, ſtained with theſe bloudſheds, and

The aſhes of C. Marius thrown into a riuer by Sylla.

Sylla dyeth.

grieuouſly diſcomforted with the death of her children, her babes were brought foorth for the ſword to glut vpon, the bodies of her ancients were made as pauements to walk vpō, her matrons became a pray and prize to euery rauiſher, her prieſts and deuoute ſacrificers were ſlaine before the gates of the temples. Syllaes bodie was conueied in ſumptuous manner to Campus Martius, in which place before the buriall the two Conſuls, namely M. Æmilius Lepidus, and Q. Luctatius Catulus did earneſtly debate about the repealing and cancelling of the acts and decrees of Sylla. Lepidus vrged that they who were proſcribed by Sylla, ought incontinent to be reduced to the citie, and there to haue reſtitution of their goods. Catulus together with the Senate defended the contrarie, ſaying that though his motion were good and honeſt, yet it might be the beginning of ſome tumult, which would be moſt daungerous if it were ſuddenly done, becauſe the common-weale was but newly recomforted, and had as yet enioyed but a ſhort pauſe of tranquillitie. By this diſſention they fell to weapons, Cn. Pōpeius

Debate betwixt Lepidus and Catulus Conſuls touching the decrees of Sylla.

peius and Q. Catulus hauing gathered an armie did proffer battell to Lepidus, and in a light skirmish ouercame him. Not long before the death of Sylla, Q. Sertorius rising in armes maintained warre in Spaine: for when he saw that the faction of Marius which he specially fauoured, was vtterly defeated and dissipated by L. Sylla, he fled presently into Spaine, where before he had bene Pretor, & there hauing gathered a great host and contriued an huge nauie, fearing lest Sylla, who had put Carbo to flight and slaine Marius, should send an armie against him, he caused Liuius Salinator his Lieutenant to encampe in the mountaines of Pyræneum, but he was afterward slaine by C. Anius the Romane Proconsul, who was sent thither to abate the courage of Sertorius, and after him Q. Metellus was also sent, but their proceedings were not prosperous. Wherefore Cn. Pompeius being as yet a priuate man, had charge giuen him of the Senate to go into Spaine. There came at that time for the aide and assistance of Sertorius, M. Perperna with a great multitude of souldiers. Cn. Pompeius made

Cn. Pompeius Magnus and Q. Catulus fight with Lepidus and ouercame him.

Sertorius leuieth armies in Spaine.

Liuius Salinator the Lieutenant of Sertorius slaine.

way for himselfe through the Alpes, betwixt the famous springs of Padus and Rhodanus. He immediatly after his coming into Spain, did enter into conflict with two of Sertorius his captaines, Herennius and Perperna, and not farre from the citie of Talentia ouercame them: Herennius was there slaine, Perperna escaped by flight. Pompey did passe the winter in the Pyrenæan mountaines, Sertorius in Lusitania, and at the beginning of the spring, Metellus and Pompeius did encounter with seuerall armies Sertorius and Perperna, in which battell Sertorius constrained Pompey to fly, and Metellus draue Perperna to the like extremitie, Pōpey was at that time wounded in the thigh, afterward they met againe at Seguntia, where Sertorius did the second time ouerthrow Pompey, and Metellus Perperna: the third time when Sertorius was coming against Metellus, Pompey meeting him in the way, caused him to retire: Sertorius did againe oppose himselfe to Pompey. Hauing taking Segida a noble citie of Celtiberia, where Sertorius lost a thousand souldiers & Pompey as many: then they turned thēselues

to the beſieging of townes, Pompey did beſiege Palantia, but Sertorius did raiſe the ſiege, and of them which beſieged Caliguriũ he did ſlay three thouſand. Metellus and Põpeius with great ſtoutneſſe & ſtomacke took many cities that were leagued with Sertorius and at Ilerda and Iliosca the townes of the Ilergitanes they put Sertorius to a deſperate plunge, but Caligurium the citie of the Vaſcons he did with much proweſſe & puiſſance defend. Sertorius was like to Iugurth in his fight, and in his fortune not vnlike to him, the exploits and ſtratagemes of them both were ſingular and admirable, but their end and laſt euent was miſerable and mournefull: Iugurtha was taken by treacherie: Sertorius by the treaſon of M. Antonius and M. Perperna his captaines was ſlaine, as he was ſitting at a bãquet, in the eight yeare of his rebellion, his empire was preſently transferred to M. Perperna, whome Pompey ouercame, tooke priſoner, and put to death, and in the tenth yeare after the beginning of this warre, he tooke Spaine. The Romanes were in theſe times buſied & moleſted in Italie by certaine

Sertorius is ſlaine.

fencers or ſword players, trayned vp in a ſhadowed fight vnder the gouernment of Lentulus, but defying their maiſter, and ſtirred with an helliſh humor to ſeate themſelues in the higheſt thrones of honor (for as fire is to gunpowder, ſo is ambition to the heart of man, which if it be but touched with ſelfe-loue mounteth aloft and neuer bēdeth downward till it be turned to aſhes) they raunged themſelues, and drew to their enſignes a great multitude of forlorn men. For in proceſſe of time their armie did encreaſe to foureſcore thouſand and moe. The leaders were Spartacus, Enomaus, and Crixus, who making great ſpoile and ſaccage in Italie, at length imbattelled themſelues vpon the mountaine Veſurius. Againſt them were ſent Clodius Glaber, and Publius Varinius, but their armies were ſuddenly by theſe enemies diſcomfited: therefore the yeare next enſuing C. Lentulus and L. Gellius Conſuls, and Q. Arrius the Prætor prepared againſt them. Crixus one of theſe rebellious captaines, was together with his whole armie vtterly ouerthrowne: but Spartacus, in whome was more vigor of ſinewes,

newes, courage, and counſell, conducting his ſouldiers from the Apennine mountaine to the Alpes, and from the Alpes into France, was at the firſt enforced to retire by one of the Conſuls, by the other to flye. But afterward hauing animated, ſurueyed, and marſhalled his men, he did ſuddenly turne backe vpon the Conſuls, gaue them battell, in ſeuerall places ouercame them: & was marching toward Rome there to poſſeſſe himſelf of the Capitole, and to erect a monarchie, but that the Conſuls reuniting their diſſipated forces, did hardly with much labour & great ſlaughter of men reſtraine and hinder him. But he hauing loſt his purpoſe, yet not looſing his time ſurpriſed the goodly citie of the Thurians, where breathing for a while & refreſhing his armie, and ſoone after reencountring the Romanes, he obtained a glorious victorie, and a plentifull ſpoile. This ſucceſſe did notably enhance the pride of Spartacus, who preſuming now that he was better then the Conſuls, thought himſelfe therefore fit to be a king. And as Athenio not long before, a ſhepheard and drudge in the fields, hauing

Spartacus a fence-plaier, doth encounter the army of the Conſuls.

Spartacus taketh the citie of the Thurians.

ſlaine his maiſter, and muſtred vnder enſigne a great number of vagrant perſons, by whoſe meanes he did ſpoile, and lay waſt many hamlets, caſtles, and villages, and applauding to himſelfe in this ſucceſſull pillage and roguerie, was adorned with a purple garment, ſtrowted and walked along with a ſtaffe of ſiluer, and enuironed his head with a crowne of gold: ſo did this rebell of Italie aſſume to himſelfe a regall pompe and title, & making fortune his reſt, which of all things is moſt vnlike to it ſelfe, thought he might as eaſily continue as beginne a conqueſt. But the Romanes who neuer could ſuffer victorie to warme her ſelfe long with the robes of a ſtraunger, committed the whole ſcope and charge of the warre to M. Craſſus their Prætor, a man ambitious and venturous: he hauing ioyned battell with Granicus one of the rebell chieftaines, did ſlay both the captaine and thirtie fiue thouſand of his ſouldiers, and after fighting with Spartacus did ſlay him, & with him fortie thouſand, fiue thouſand onely eſcaped, whom Cn. Pompeius returning from the Spaniſh warre, did ſuddenly meete

M. Craſſus appointed for the warre againſt Spartacus.

and

and presently put to the sword. After these times M. Cicero being Consul, whose nouity and strangenesse in Rome, the nobilitie and rareneſſe of his good gifts might iustly excuse who for all his excellent qualities was more beholding to nature then education, as for his vertue famous, so for his eloquence most famous, by whom it was that the Romanes were not inferiour to them in wit, whom they vanquished in warre, the conspiracie of Catiline was detected and determined, and Cicero for his constancie, courage, & watchfulneſſe, in suppressing the scalefire of that warre to the vtmost cinder, was intitled by the name of Pater patriæ, the father of his countrey. But before I enter into the discourse of his rebellion, I must make knowne the person of the traytor, and the cause of the treason. L. Sergius Catilina was in face and feature comely and absolute, in wit prompt and pregnant, in eloquence sweet and delightfull, in pompe and maiestie princely and regall, in courtly behauiour quaint and delicate: and to set vpon this gold a Diamond, of a most noble parentage. There were certaine

Cicero called Pater patriæ.

Catiline his qualities.

families amongst the Romanes, which surmounted & ouerheaded the rest, being most auncient and of a worthie originall, and they are parted into two discents, some of them hauing the Aborigines to their aunceſtours, and some the Troianes. The first and principall of the race of the Aborigines, was the familie of the Vitellij, being discended frō Faunus the king of the Aborigines, which did inhabite Italie before the comming of Æneas, and Queene Vitellia, which in many places was worshipped as a goddesse: the secōd was the familie of the Fabij, whose offspring is rightly deriued from Fabius the son of Hercules: the third was the lineage of the Antonij, issuing from Anton an other of Hercules his sonnes: the fourth was the race of the Potitij, so named of Potitius, who did with great curtesie entertaine Hercules, when he was entred Italie: the fist was the house of the Mamilij, borne of Mamilia the daughter of Telegonus one of Vlysses his sonnes begotten of Circe that notorious enchauntresse. The other families which referred their beginning to the Troiane roote, were ten in number:

first the house of the Iulij, who descended frō Iulus the sonne of Æneas: the second the Æmilij, who tooke their name of Æmilius the sonne of Ascanius a Troiane, & of that house was the matchlesse Scipio, sonne to Paulus Æmilius, who being the Romane Generall destroyed Carthage. The third the Nautij of Nautes one of Æneas his companions: for when Diomedes hauing stolen the image of Pallas, did perceiue that it was of no vse to him, after the destruction of Troy he offered it as a present to Æneas passing by his kingdome, but as Æneas doing then sacrifice was turning himselfe, Nautes did lay hold of the image, & by that meanes did appropriate the vse of it to himselfe, so that the Nautij and not the Iulij did enioy the mysteries of Minerua: the fourth the Cloælij of Cloælius an other of Æneas his companions: the fift the Iunij of Iunius an other of his associates: the sixt the Sergij of Sergestus one of the Troiane captaines, of which familie was L. Sergius Catilina, and before him none of that name was euer tainted with any sauour of rebellion. The seuenth the Memij of Muesteus, an other of the Tro-

The lineage of Catiline.

iane trauellers, the eight the Cloantij of Cloanthus a bird of the same fether, the ninth the Giganij or the Gianij of the Troiane Gias, the tenth the Cæcilij of Sæculus a Troiane also who built Preneste. Catiline being adorned with the nobilitie aboue described, made himselfe through his vices and misdemeanor ignoble and odious: his life was the picture of licentiousnesse: to women he was so lewdly affectionate, that euery curtizane of Rome layed claime vnto him. And to marie Aurelia Orestilla into a vacant house, he committed the shamefull murder of his owne and onely child: for two things he promised her, and performed for her, which were tokens of a mercilesse heart, the balefull death of his son, and the chaunge of the state, in such sort that Aurelia Orestilla should be the Dictatresse of Rome. And for the performance he bound himselfe by a cursed circumstance, drinking mans bloud to fill his bloudthirstie humour. In al his actions he was a perfect Protean, framing and composing himselfe to all sides and sects: with the grauer sort of men he would be sad and seuere: with the riotous, prodigall & excessiue:

Catiline killeth his own sonne.

exceſſiue: with chaſt matrons modeſt and buxome: with light huſwiues wanton and vaine: with young gentlemen pleaſant and actiue: with auncient fathers demure and deliberatiue: to the baſer ſort curteous and pitifull: to the nobler perſons ſociable and gratefull: ſo variable & diſcoulored he was in his doings, that M. Cicero did greatly maruell at his manifold dexteritie. The firſt ſparks of Catilines conſpiracie began to blaze and appeare, L. Tullus, M. Lepidus being Conſuls, ſixe hundred eightie & ſeuen yeres after the building of Rome. At that time was Catuline greatly indebted, & becauſe he could not diſcharge the ſumme within the time appointed and limited by lawe, nor bring in an eſtimate or valuation of his goods, whereby it might appeare that he was able to defray the debt, he was forbidden to make ſute for the Conſulſhip, whereupon being ſtirred by a reuengefull wrath, he ſought by all meanes poſſible to execute his iniurious intent. There was at that time in Rome Cn. Piſo, a man of deſperate boldneſſe, poore and yet preſumptuous, Catiline did open and impart his meaning to

Catiline greatly indebted.

Catiline forbidden to make ſute fot the Conſulſhip.

him and Pub. Antronius, and they three determined to kill the Consuls, which were made the next yeare after Catilines repulse. The inquisition of this matter was deferred till it came to greater ripenesse. Afterward they intended the death of the most part of the Senators: the time was appointed when their complices and confederates, abbetters, and assistants should meet in armour: but because Catiline perceiued that the number of these rebellious souldiers was not yet sufficient to giue onset to the citie, he withdrew his hand for a time, and dismissed the armie. But a yeare after M. Cicero, and C. Antonius hauing entred the Consulship, Catiline being now also disgraced with another repulse, recollected into his seditious braine his auncient plots and former villanies: then he conspired with P. Lentulus & C. Cethegus Prætors to worke the death of the Consuls, to slay the Senate, to burne the citie, and to alter the state: and for this purpose they did by letters inuite to this horrible massacre many Romanes that were employed in forraine seruice. This being apparantly euident, & dangers

gers being now at the doore, and in a readi-
neſſe to pierce into the citie, vnleſſe ſome
maiore aduiſe were preſently taken, a Senate
was appointed in the temple of Iupiter Stator,
vnto which place ſhameleſſe Catiline, imagi-
ning that he might bleare their eyes by a pre-
tended purgation reſorted alſo, and with an
vnchaunged countenance ſhrowded vnder
the habite of a Senator, the heart of a ſerpent.
And becauſe the method of this hiſtorie may
ſeeme in this place to require ſome deſcripti-
on of the Senatorie ſtate, I will briefly ſet
downe the conſtant and perpetuall order of
the Romanes in going to their ſenate houſe,
though I cannot counteruaile with æquall
termes, nor with a perfect diſcourſe the great
maieſtie and pompe, that in this reuerend ſo-
lemnitie was obſerued. The firſt place in the
proceeding to their Senate had the Dictator,
(when that office was in eſſe) the next the
Conſuls, the third the Prætors: the Dictator
was therefore preferred becauſe his power
was ſupreme, and was not ſubiect to the con-
troll of any other, the Conſuls were in the ſe-
cond place, becauſe they were in præhemi-

The ſolemnitie which the Romans vſed in their proceeding to the Senate

nence next to the Dictator, and all the decrees of the Senate were ratified by thē, bearing date according to the dignitie of their persons: their triumphs also were signed with the same marke: such a triumph was said to be done, such an one being the second time Consull, and such an one being the third time Cōsul, according as their aduancement was. In the third ranke of these greater Magistrates were the Prætors, because they had authoritie to call a Senate as the Dictator & the Consuls had, which was not permitted to the inferiour magistrates: they had also iurisdiction to examine any matter that was done within the hundred stone, after the vulgar supputation, within an hundred miles of the citie of Rome on euery side. Before the Dictator went twelue Lictors or Sergeants, who at the bidding of the Dictator and Consuls did arrest offenders, and commaunded strangers that met them in signe of reuerence to light from their horses, they caried in their hands an ensigne of terror, a double polcaxe enuironed with a bundle of rods. The Dictator was caried in a chaire of estate, being clad

with a purple gowne, edged with a crimſon border, and inueſted with a robe triumphall, which were the ornaments of the auncient kings of Rome: the ſame attire had the Conſuls and Prætors, but the Prætors did weare a ſiluer coloured garment, and did alwaies ride vpon milke white horſes: after theſe the next place had the Cẽſors, if there were any at that time, for they were in the number of principall magiſtrates, their office being not of perpetuitie, no more then the Dictatorſhip. After theſe being the more worthie potentates, the inferiour ſort of the authorized perſons did immediatly follow. The firſt of that order were the Ædiles of the chaire, becauſe they were conueyed to the ſenatehouſe in a chaire of yuorie, which monument of honour, as it ſeemeth was permitted vnto them, becauſe in ancient times they were truſted and adorned with the entire regimẽt of the citie: theſe were created of the bodie of the Senate: next to them ſucceeded the Ædiles of the people, which were raiſed to that dignitie from the roote of the people: after the Ædiles followed they which had borne office, though they

were not charged with any office that present yeare. All of them seuerally marshalled according to the worthinesse of their calling; the Consulians, the Prætorians, the Ædilitians, the last place had the Senators, which had not yet borne office. The number of them all in such an assemblie did some time amount to the number of sixe hundred all of them, these onely excepted who were borne in chaires of estate, riding on faire pampered horses, and long traind gownes, the skirts of which were circumscribed with these words, Senatus, populusq; Romanus. VVhen the Senators were placed, and euery one began to expect what should be spoken against the rebellious confederates, M. Cicero aiming at Catiline with his eyes, did thus pierce him with his tongue, & with this inuective reproued his maners.

Cicero his Oration against Catiline.

« VVas there euer seene so great and notorious impudencie, graue fathers and worthie « Senators, that a dissolute and disorderly re- « bell, a professor of prodigalitie and vnthrifti- « nesse, a maintainer of theeues, barrettors and « seditious slaughterers, a proclaimed enemie « to temperance, iustice, chastitie, & the whole

synode of the seuerest vertues, a man of ra-
ther a monstrous masse compacted of wicked-
nesse, should dare so much as to staine this
sacred presence with his prophane person, &
though he conspire against vs, yet amongst
vs to consult. To consult (said I) nay to con-
ceale his treacherie. What should the lay do
amongst swans, or the owle amongst nightin-
gales, or the vulture amongst doues, or
Catiline amongst Catoes? do we not dread
the thunderbolt when we see the lightening?
and can we loue the traytor when we loath
his treason? Canst thou so dissemble Catiline,
that we may not discerne thy doings? Nay
there is no deed of thine, no drift nor deuise,
which I haue not heard, nay almost seene, nay
almost felt. Here, here they be in this our af-
semblie (worthie Senators) in this most graue
and solemne councell of the world, which
muse continually of our death, of the downe-
fall of Rome, and the desolation of Italie. But
thou yet liuest Catiline, and yet thou liuest
not to abate, but to abet thy pride. What va-
nitie hath bene at any time absent from thine
eyes? what villanie from thine hands? what

"presidents of vice frō thy person? what young
"gentleman hath there bene a long time in this
"citie, whome, if he were once corrupted by
"the deceitfull baits of thy false entisements,
"thou didst not animate and incite either to
"desperate attempts, by carying the sword be-
"fore him, or to effeminate examples by bea-
"ring the torch before him, and yet thou ima-
"gineſt that thy doings are not misliked. Of
"thee Catiline when the Romanes keepe si-
"lence they pronounce sentence, when they
"suffer thy misdeedes they condemne them,
"when they are at rest with themselues, they
"are at deadly warre with thee. But why am I
"so earnest against thee? Is it possible that any
"thing should amend thee? may it be hoped for
"that thou wilt reforme thy selfe, that thou wilt
"shake off these faults? that thou wilt banish
"these enormities? Thou art not of so good &
"vertuous inclination, that honestie may re-
"claime thee from whoredome, feare from vn-
"iustice, and reason from outrage: to this mad-
"nesse nature hath framed thee, frowardnesse
"hath exercised thee, and destinie hath reser-
"ued thee, and for these deformities of thy na-

ture

sure thou hast bene more feared then trusted, and indeede more wily then we haue heretofore bene watchfull. But at length noble Senators, L. Catilina enraged with boldnesse, breathing out bloudshed, preparing in most hainous manner a scourge for his countrie, threatning to this citie fire and sword, is sufficiently knowne, and abundantly hated. No plague can now be inuented of that monster and horror of men within this citie against this citie, but in that he hath not drawne his bloudie sword out of our naked bodies, in that he hath left vs aliue, in that we haue wrested the weapon from his butcherous hands, in that the citizens be safe, & the citie secure, can ye coniecture with what a bitter agonie, and anguish of mind he is vexed: and if he beginne hereafter to renew his furie, take courage my Lords, and leade out against his broken and outcast band, the flower and the power of all Italie, and consider with what foes we deale, which fainteing in banquets, embracing harlots, stuffed with meat, faint with wine, adorned with garlands, coupled with ointments, weakned by wantons, cast from

"their contagious mouths the slaunder of the
"vertuous, ouer whome I do hope there han-
"geth some heauie destinie: and that the pu-
"nishment that hath bene long time due to
"their wicked lust and licentiousnesse, is either
"now imminent or now approching: whom if
"my Consulship do chaunce to quelle because
"it cannot dure, it shall not procure a short sun-
"shine of peace to the common-weale, but
"whole ages and worlds of tranquilitie: that
"which may be healed by any meanes I will
"heale by some meanes, that which must needs
"be cut off I must needes cut off, therefore let
"them either leaue the citie, or leaue their tu-
"mult, or if they will stay both in this citie and
"in this mind, let them looke for their desert,
"and assure themselues of the full measure of
"reuenge; but if in stewes and tauernes they
"sought onely beluing and baudrie, they were
"more to be spared, but yet wholly to be dis-
"paired of: but who can tollerate that cowards
"should determine trecherie against the cou-
"ragious, wild braines against them that be
"wise, lottish drunkards against sober Senators
"and sluggish drones against carefull magi-
strates?

ſtrates? Theſe men building like gods vpon »
the earth, as if their houſes ſhould be hea- »
uens, whilſt they take their pleaſure in ſump- »
tuous coaches, great families, coſtly ban- »
quets, rich attire, and in the lewd companie »
of laſciuious curtizanes, are fallen into ſuch a »
gulfe of debt, that if they would be free from »
it, Sylla is to be raiſed from the dead. But they »
ſhall ſoone perceiue, if they ſtill perſiſt in their »
naughtineſſe, that there are in this citie vigi- »
lant Conſuls, politicke gouernours, a puiſſant »
Senate, that we haue weapons, that we haue a »
priſon, which our aunceſtors haue made a re- »
uenger of hainous and manifeſt faults. And »
now ſith you are deliuered through my care »
and induſtrie from a ſwelling cloud of terrors, »
without battell, without bloudſhed, without »
armie, without fighting. For this ſo great be- »
nefite noble Senators, I require of you no re- »
ward of vertue, no enſigne of honour, no mo- »
nument of praiſe, but an eternall record of »
this very time: I deſire that all my deſerts, all »
the ornaments of my perſon, the fruits of my »
glorie, and the good æſtimation of my dili- »
gence, ſhould be regiſtred and enrolled in »

« in your memories. No muteneſſe, no ſilence,
« no ſecret whiſpering can delight me, by your
« remembrance worthie Senators mine actes
« & exploits ſhall be nouriſhed, by your words
« they ſhall grow, by your writings they ſhall
« not onely receiue life but æternitie.

Catiline his impudent anſwer to Cicero.

Catiline hauing all this while itching eares, but a more itching toung, made in diſorderly manner this diſdainfull reply: I haue a long « time maruelled and now with aſtoniſhment « do wonder (ye noble Lords and ancient pro- « genie of kings) for as to the reſt I will not bēd « my ſelfe to them but againſt them, that with « ſo patient eare, and minds impaſſionate, ye « can digeſt the cholericke railings of this rhe- « toricall parot, whome ſince we firſt promoted « from the pearch to the pinacle, from the bar « to the bench, from the ground whereon we « go, to the tribunall whereon we ſit, the Senate « ſurfetting long ago on his rude and vnmaner- « ly ſpeeches, is now conſtrained to make a diet « of a diſeaſe: vpon me as ye haue plainely per- « ceiued, he hath ſpent the whole cheſt of his « gall, who am as free from the crimes inten- « ded, as he is farre from the vertues which he

aſcribeth to you. He thought perhaps (what » wickednesse I pray you hath he not thought) » to blow me out of the gates of the citie, by the » venimous aire of his impoiſened lungs, but » maugre his malicious throat. I ſtand before » his lowring face, to the abaſhment of his fro- » zen forehead, and the confuſion of his ill ſpea- » king eloquence, as one irreproueable, being » like a cage of chryſtall, vpon which the more » poyſon is caſt, the more cleare it doth ſeeme, » I am not made (Conſul Marcus) of ſo fleeting » and brittle mould, that the gnaſhing of thy » teeth ſhould either fray me or fret me: but if » I were guiltie of the faults alleadged, why was » I not impeached of them before thy Conſul- » ſhip, but vnder the triumph of thy tearmes » muſt ſuffer this intollerable iniurie? Catiline » is an Epicure forſooth, becauſe Cicero is a » Stoicke, Catiline is wanton, becauſe Cicero » is iealous, Catiline is lawleſſe, becauſe Cice- » roes will muſt be a lawe to him: Catiline is » prodigall, becauſe he hath not beſtowed any » bribes vpon Cicero: Catiline is rebellious, » becauſe Cicero is foarefull and timerous: Ca- » tiline is an enemie to the common-weale, »

" becauſe he is not friend to Ciceroes priuate
" pollicie: mightie accuſations and vnanſwera-
" ble! Hath he not drawne bloud (trow you) of
" Catilines credit? It grieueth me worthie Se-
" nators, and truſt me, it grieueth mine heart,
" that the hope of the Romane youth, and the
" ſweet ſocietie of gallant gentlemen your
" ſelues attēding, bearing, & forbearing, ſhould
" by the ſpawne of a ragge be ſo hainouſly diſ-
" graced: as for his diſtempered declamation
" it is no noueltie with vs my Lords, for it is the
" vſuall methode of his mercenare toung, vpō
" poore and pitifull preſumptions, to hazard
" the life and ſoule of his clients cauſe. But what
" madneſſe is it for one that is lately crept into
" the citie to talke of antiquities, taking mat-
" ters in hand which are elder then his memo-
" rie, which were forgotten and dead before he
" was begotten and borne? Thou art not aun-
" cient enough Cicero to ſpeake of our aunce-
" ſtors, nor worthie enough to talk of our wor-
" thies, thou art as a pilgrime in this citie, thou
" art ignorant of the orders and cuſtomes ther-
" of, thou ſeemeſt to wander in another coun-
" trie, and not to beare office in the Metrapolis

of

of Italie: thou threatneſt vs with extremities, „
and layeſt on load with impriſonments, as if „
our bodies ſhould be anuils to thine hatred: „
but ſuffer not my ſweet, mild and curteous „
magiſtrates of Rome, that vpon Ciceroes „
ſuggeſtion we ſhould endure ſuch reproch: „
the ignominie of arraignment is miſerable, „
the arreſting of guiltleſſe men is lamentable, „
baniſhment is diſcomfortable, but the rack- „
ing, rowling, tearing and tormenting of men „
far be it not only frō the bodie of a Romane, „
but euen from his thoughts, from his eyes, „
from his eares. For mine own part I confeſſe, „
and profeſſe, and pretend, that Catiline li- „
ueth not to pleaſe, but to diſpleaſe and diſ- „
place M. Cicero, of whome when I ſpeake, I „
ſpeake of tyrannie, of villanie, of baſeneſſe, „
and aſſure thy ſelfe Cicero, that either the law „
of Rome, or the lawe of reaſon ſhall be my „
warrant in this caſe, and to them that be diſ- „
contented in this citie, thy fall will be a ge- „
nerall ſatisfaction. „

Catiline departed out of the ſenate houſe continuing his furie, and becauſe danger was feared, it was thought good that the Senate

ſhould be diſmiſſed in the night time. Catiline went with a ſlender gard to the tents of Manlius. Lentulus, Cethegus, and diuerſe others that were priuie to the conſpiracie, and did as yet remaine in the citie, were arreſted and impriſoned, and being conuicted by manifeſt euidence, were preſently put to death. The day wherein the puniſhment of theſe traitors was decreed, did greatly illuſtrate & beautifie the worthineſſe of M. Cato. He diſcended from M. Cato the Prince of the Portiã familie, after whome this Cato in degree of diſcent was accompted and numbred in the third place. This M. Cato was of all the Romanes moſt ſincere, and moſt like to vertue it ſelfe, and ſeemed in his iuſtice and integritie to be nearer to God then to man, who did not liue honeſtly & orderly becauſe he would ſeeme to be vertuous, but becauſe it was againſt the courſe of his diſpoſition to be diſhoneſt and diſorderly, thinking that onely to be reaſonable, which was iuſt and lawfull: he was free from fancies, and had alwaies fortune in his owne power: he was then Tribune of the people, young in reſpect of his yeares, but

The linage of M. Cato.

The praiſe of M. Cato.

but in wiſedome and aduiſe a father, & a right Senator, who (when others perſwaded that the conſpirators ſhould be kept aliue in ſeuerall wards) being the laſt of them that ſentenced the rebellious, did inueigh with ſuch force of mind and wit againſt the conſpirators, that by the vehemencie of his ſpeech he cancelled their opinions, which perſwaded lenitie, and made their ſoftneſſe to be ſuſpected: and the greater part of the Senate in fauour of Catoes gracious ſeueritie, did accõpanie him to his houſe. C. Cæſar did at that time giue ſome token of a rebellious humor, whereof Rome taſted afterward too much, & himſelfe in the end was poiſoned with the dregs. Catiline hearing what was done at Rome, gathered an armie, and making a laborious iourney through the ſteepe and craggie hils, intended a voyage into that part of Fraunce, which is beyond the Alpes: which Q. Metellus perceiuing, who was leader of three bands of ſoldiers in the Picẽ prouince, he remooued his tents and pitched them at the bottome of the Piſtorian heath, frõ which place the armie of C. Antonius was not farre.

C. Cæſar inclined to ſedition.

Catiline when he ſaw that he was on euery ſide embayed with mountaines & armed mē, choſe rather to fight with Antonius, who cōmitted the vantgard to the conduct of M. Petreius. Catiline in that battell gaue a ſharpe onſet, and continued the fight with an vndaunted ſtomacke, but in the end was ſlaine, and dying with great indignation, was there trampled to death by the hooſes of horſes. Thus he that did defend himſelf in the Senate houſe, was confounded in the field, and that by the iuſtice of deſtinie, who with a ſcourge of ſteele followeth proud aſpirers: this inſolent Romane perceiued at the time of his death the deceitfull gloſe of his fawning fancie, & the vaine ſophiſtrie of bewitching ambition.

LA-

# LACHESIS,

## *Or the ſecond Booke.*

CN. Pompeius for his great valor & magnanimitie iuſtly intitled Magnus, did in courſe of time grow to an exceeding greatneſſe of authoritie, and had purchaſed through his worthie exploits, the loue, applauſe and admiration of the whole world, his father was Cn. Pompeius an approued ſouldier, and a Conſularian, his mother was Lucilia a Senators daughter: he was of a comely perſonage, not ſo commendable for beautie, as for a pleaſing and conſtant complection, which continued euen to his laſt houre, his wiſedome was of a wonderfull excellencie, his life in all parts abſolute, his eloquence but indifferent, he was deſirous to haue honour offred, but was not ambitious to vſurpe it, a faſt friend & a religious obſeruer of his word,

in reconciling mē that were at variance moſt faithfull, in receiuing ſatisfaction for offences moſt eaſie, neuer vſing his power to impotēcie, nor his wit to vanitie, from his cradle a ſouldier, in his youth a conqueror triumphant, and in all his warres couragious and dreadfull. For though Sertorius did more cōmend Metellus, yet he was more afraid of Pompey. And of the Spaniards he triumphed when he was but a Romane knight, not hauing as yet borne any office of eſtate. To be a knight of Rome was ſo much better then to be a common gentleman, by how much a patritian Senator was more honorable then a nouitian, whoſe aunceſtours were neuer of the Senate. And Pompey by degrees did endeuour to aduance his credit, and in the end by the conqueſt of many & mightie nations, became peereles. Mithridates his power was enfeebled by Sylla, diſiointed by Lucullus, & broken in peeces by Pompey, after which victorie he ſubdued the Iewes, tooke their citie, and poſſeſt the temple of Ieruſalem, a rare and miraculous monument, which though he filled with his ſouldiers, yet he reſtrained thē from

Sertorius feareth Pōpey.

Mithridates ouerthrown by Pompey.

Pompey entred the tēple of Ieruſalem.

from the ſpoile. In that warre he partly recouered, and partly ſubdued to the Romane power, Armenia, Colchis, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, and all the region of Paleſtine to the riuer of Euphrates. He ouercame beſide Paphlagonia, Galatia, Phrigia, Myſia, Lydia, Caria, Ionia, and all that part of Aſia which lyeth about Pergamus. He committed the regiment of Armenia maior to Tigranes, the Iſland of Boſphorus to Pharnaces, Cappadocia to Arioberzanes, Seleucia to Antiochus Commagenus: to Deiotarus and other Tetrarkes Galatia with Armenia minor, to Attalus and Pylæmenes Paphlagonia, to Ariſtarchus Colchis, to Hircane Paleſtine. And for a triple reward of theſe his victories, he had the blazon of three triumphs: the firſt was of Affricke, the ſecond of Europa, and the third of Aſia. After theſe triumphs enſued the Conſulſhip of Marcus Bibulus and C. Cæſar, iſſuing from the famous familie of the Iulij, and conueying his diſcent from Anchiſes the Troiane father to Æneas: he was of excellent beautie, and in vigor of mind moſt ſharpe and vehement, in his rewards boun-

Pompey honored with a triple triumph.

Cæſar his originall.

rifull, in courage farre aboue mans nature, or mans beliefe, in the haughtineſſe of his thoughts, in the celeritie of his fight, in the ſuffering of bitter euents and caſualties ſingular, in all his actions moſt like to Alexander the great, to Alexander I meane being ſober, and neither ſurcharged with wine, nor ouercome with wrath, vſing ſleepe and meate not for the pampering of his luſt, but for the continuing of his life. He was neare in bloud to C. Marius, and was Cinnaes ſonne in lawe, neither during Syllaes Dictatorſhip could he by any means be moued to diuorce Cinnaes daughter, though M. Piſo a Conſularian, did for feare of Sylla ſunder himſelfe from Annia Cinnaes widow, by which conſtancie Cæſar did greatly endaunger himſelfe; for his death was ſought for by Syllaes officers, Sylla himſelfe being ignorant of their purpoſe. Cæſar being made Conſul, a league of ſoueraigne ſocietie was concluded betwixt him and Cn. Pompeius, & M. Craſſus. Pompey did therefore enter into that league, becauſe he would haue his acts and deedes, which he had made in the prouinces before mentioned, that were conquered

Cæſars death ſought for by Sillaes officers.

conquered by him, fully confirmed and ratified by the Senate. Cæsar by taking that course had a double intent, to increase his owne honour by yeelding to Pompeis glory, and to establish his owne authoritie by charging him with the hatred of this treuirall power. Crassus had this drift to maintaine & preserue the æstimation which he had alreadie obtained by the power of Cæsar, and the authoritie of Pompey. There was also an affinitie contracted by marriage betwixt Cæsar and Pompey: for Pompey tooke to wife Iulia Cæsars daughter. Cæsar had the regiment of Fraunce committed to him by the Senate, after whose Consulship ended, and before his departure into Fraunce, P. Clodius Tribune of the people began to giue new edge vnto quarrels, and did with maine force bend himselfe against Cicero. For what agreement could there be betwixt them, when their maners did so farre disagree? The head of dissention was cut off when Catiline was slaine, the bodie also was mangled when his confederates were put to death, but the serpents taile did as yet mooue: for Clodius did seeke by all

Pompey marrieth with Iulia Cæsars daughter.

Clodius Tribune of the people becommeth seditious.

Clodius ſeeketh to reuenge himſelfe vpon Cicero.

meanes poſſible, to take reuenge on Cicero for the ſharp ſeueritie vſed againſt his friends which were of Catilines ſeed-plot, and of that ſeditious league. But it was to be wondred at, that a man conuicted of ſo notorious and hainous crimes, durſt proceede to ſuch impudencie as to attempt the diſgrace of M. Cicero, or any way to diſturbe his quietneſſe.

Clodius infamous for adulterie with Pompeia Cæſars wife.

At that time Clodius was infamous for his adulterie with Pompeya Cæſars wife, which amiddeſt the moſt religious & ſolemne rites of Bona Dea, this vnchaſt Tribune committed: and theſe ceremonies, which it was not lawfull for any man to behold, Clodius in womans attire did pollute. But he was the author of greater lewdneſſe then this, when with his owne ſiſters he became inceſtuous, two of them being his ſiſters german, and married to two worthie Romanes, the one of them to Q. Metellus, and the other to L. Lucullus, the third was his ſiſter by the halfe bloud, the wife of Q. Martius. For theſe and other his faults, he was condemned by the ſeuerall cenſures of two hundred Senators at one Seſſion, and this notwithſtanding was abſolued: ſo that I

Clodius infamous for inceſt with his ſiſters.

Clodius cõdemned by Senate.

do

do greatly doubt, whether the Conſuls that did abſolue him, or Clodius that was abſolued, did more deſerue puniſhment: for by that meane ſuch a window of impunitie was then opened, as could not be ſhut in the ſpace of many yeares enſuing. But Clodius becauſe he was Tribune, and becauſe he was Clodius, did thinke all time loſt wherein Cicero was ſafe. He was then in great fauour both with the people and Conſuls: for when any commoditie was ſought for by the Conſuls, which could not be preiudiciall to the people, he would labour earneſtly for the Conſuls, and when the people would haue had any benefite which did not concerne the Conſuls, he was wholly for the people: ſo that by diſpleaſing neither, he pleaſed them both. Vpon this ground he aduentured to make lawes, amõgſt which one was enacted againſt thẽ who had put a Romane citizen to death without the iudgement of the people of Rome, which lawe though it ranne in generall termes, yet in ſence and meaning it was directly leuelled againſt Cicero, who in his Conſulſhip had by Senate condemned the confederates of Ca-

Cicero mourneth.

tiline. Cicero perceiuing this did clad himselfe with mourning roabes, the Senators also were attired with blacke, as the associates of his sorrow, the Romane knights did weare his colour, the inconsolate citie did droope and deplore his state, and the forreiners that heard thereof did enlarge the griefe. For the redressing of this maladie meanes were made to Crassus, Cæsar, and Pompey. But Cæsar denyed to stand against Clodius, because he feared that the lawes and decrees made by him the yeare next before when he was Consul should be disanulled and abrogated by Clodius if he maintained hatred against him. M. Crassus was monies weathercocke, and an hungrie cormorant of coyne, and therefore refused to meddle in this matter, because they that craued the assistance of his authoritie, came not to him with golden faces: only Pōpey did helpe, countenance, & comfort him, and protested openly that himselfe would rather be slaine by Clodius, then Cicero shold be abused: but the Consuls commanding the Senators and others to lay aside their mournfull sable, did so firmely lincke themselues to

Clodius,

Clodius, both againſt Cicero and Pompey, that neither could Pompey profite him, neither would Cicero ſtay in the citie. For how could he expect any better ſucceſſe, L. Piſo & A. Gabinius being Conſuls, men of notorious naughtineſſe, and raked out of the ſcum of Senators? Wherefore Cicero left the city, and in the very day of his departure, his houſe that ſtoode on mount Palatine was burnt by Clodius, and the ſoile was conſecrated to Libertie: his goods were confiſcated, his lordſhips and farmes beſtowed vpon others: there was a lawe alſo made touching his baniſhment, wherby it was prohibited that he ſhold not haue the vſe of water and fire within the citie, that none within fiue hundred miles of Italie ſhould receiue him into his houſe, that none ſhould make any motion for him to the Senate, that none ſhould deliuer his opinion of Cicero, that none ſhould diſpute of that which was done, that none ſhould ſpeake of it, that none ſhould go vnto him, that none ſhould write vnto him. But in the end Cn. Pompeius hauing vndertaken emnitie with Clodius, being vrged by the earneſt petition

Cicero committeth himſelfe to voluntarie exile.

A ſharpe law made concerning Cicero his baniſhment.

of Titus Annius Milo, and moued by the abundant kindneſſe of his heroicall nature, did in his mind make ſpeciall election of this care to reduce Cicero from baniſhment. Wherefore the yeare next enſuing, P. Lentulus and Q. Metellus being Conſuls, Cicero by a Senatorie decree was recalled from baniſhmēt with the great deſire of the Senate, and the great reioycing of Italie. The ground whereon his houſe ſtoode, was exempted from religious conſecration, and his houſe was not ſo ſhamefully throwne downe by Clodius, as it was ſumptuouſly reedified by the Senate, his poſſeſſions were reſtored vnto him, and all the acts which Clodius made in his Tribuneſhip were adiudged to be void. Clodius did greatly indignate at the returne of Cicero, & hauing aggregated vnto him a raſcall route of thriftleſſe and vnconſcionable ruffians, he partly draue away, and did partly maime and murder the carpenters and workmen, that were buſied about the renewing of Ciceroes houſe, he burnt beſide the houſe of Q. Cicero, he fought with Milo many times in the ſtreets: he purſued Cicero with ſtones, clubs, and

Cicero recalled from baniſhment.

Clodius perſiſteth to be an enemie to Cicero.

Clodius burneth the houſe of Q. Cicero.

and ſwords, & arming all his men with brāds of fire in the one hand, and ſwords in the other led them to the burning of Miloes houſe: but this tempeſt and trouble of the citie, who did beſtow kingdomes and take them away, and deuided the world at his pleaſure, which burnt the temple of the Nimphes, that he might ſcorch the rowle in which his ſhame was enregiſtred, which with maſons, architectes, and meaſurers of ground did ſuruey almoſt euery cloſe and plot that lay neare vnto him, hoping in the end to make it his own purchaſe, and to dilate and extend his demeaſnes from the gate of Ianus to the top of the Alpes: which threatned death to Sanctia a matron, as holy in her manners as in her name, and to Apronius a young gentleman, vnleſſe they would ſell vnto him their inheritance: who told Furfonius in plaine termes, that if he would not lend him ſo much mony as he required, he would carie him dead into his houſe. This enemie I ſay to all good men, to his neighbors, to forreyners, to his friends, to his kinſmen, was ſhortly after ſlaine by Milo, for whoſe death he did lye in awaite, and

Clodius threatneth death to Sanctia.

Clodius is ſlaine by Milo.

his bodie being conueyed to Rome was loathed of the beholders, for it was the harbour of a foule ostridge.

Cæsar was now in hot warres against the French, of whose exploits as they did happē in nine yeares space, whilst he was President there by the commission of the Senate, I will make a briefe rehearsall as the times did yeeld them.

The Helue-tians flye before Cæsar.

In the first yeare the Heluetians, when Cæsar had scarcely set foote in France, burnt their houses, and leauing their countrie dispersed themselues in the fields of the Sequani, and so came to the coast of the Tolossians. Cæsar perceiuing that their abode in that place would be dangerous to the citie of Tolossa, and being earnestly intreated by the petition of the Ambarrians and the Allobroges, who did complaine themselues to be greatly vexed and disturbed by the Heluetians, remooving his tents and hauing ouertaken them at the riuer of Arraris destroyed in pursuite all the villages of the Tigurines. Cæsars horsemen which were sent before to obserue what waies and pathes the Heluetians

did

did take, were by them discomfited. Afterward they gaue battell to Cæsar, and in that battell they were ouercome, and yeelding themselues to Cæsars mercie, they were enioyned to resort to their owne countrie, and there to repaire their houses. Then Cæsar being mooued by the complaint of certaine Frenchmē addrest against Ariouista the king of the Germaines, whome he did pursue in battell to the riuer of Rhenus.

The Helueтians ouercome by Cæsar.

Cæsar pursueth battell against Ariouista.

In the second yeare he waged battell against the Belgians, the most of which were slaine. The like successe had he against the Neruians.

Cæsar fighteth against the Belgians & Neruians.

In the third yeare fighting on the sea against the Venetians, he caused thē to yeeld: and P. Crassus his Lieutenant did subdue almost all the countrie of Aquitania.

In the fourth yeare the Germaines passing with a great multitude ouer the riuer of Rhine arriued in Fraunce, whom Cæsar assaulting on the sudden did vtterly destroy: then he made a bridge ouer Rhenus, and determined to vexe and exagitate the Germaines in their owne countrie, because France was so much

Cæsar ouerthroweth the Germaines.

Cæſar burneth the villages of the Sicambrians

diſquieted and moleſted by them, & hauing burnt there many cities and villages of the Sicambrians, being alſo certified that the Britanes did miniſter ſuccour, and gaue encouragement to the conſpiracies of the French, he ſayled into Britaine, and conſtrained the Britanes by ſharpe onſet to yeeld vnto him. Cæſars nauie that tranſported his horſe, was ſhrewdly ſhaken with a tempeſt, wherewith the Britaines being reuiued betooke themſelues againe to weapons, and fighting with Cæſar were put to flight: at length they ſued to Cæſar for peace, which, he taking hoſtage of them did eaſily graunt, and returned into Fraunce, and the ſame yeare the Morines & Menapiãs rebelling he reduced to obediẽce.

Cæſar ouercommeth the Brittains

Cæſar reconciled to the Britaines.

In the fifth yeare Cæſar returning from Illyrium, to which place he went for the ſtopping and beating backe of an incurſion made by the Piruſtæ, came to his armie in Fraunce, and addreſſed warre afreſh againſt the Britaines hauing broken truce, and enioying there a proſperous fight, a great multitude of the inhabitants being ſlaine, and a great part of the Iſland brought into the power of the Romanes,

Cæſar renueth his war againſt the Britaines.

Romanes, taking hoſtages, and impoſing tribute he ſet ſaile for Fraunce.

In the ſixt yeare the Eburons did rebell againſt Cæſar, Ambiorix being their king and Captaine, whō in many places Cæſar fiercely and feruently purſuing, put to the ſword and diſperſed the remnāt of that rebellious companie. The Eburons ouercome by Cæſar.

In the ſeuenth yeare Cæſar went into Italy, vpon occaſion of a mutinie which there did befall. The French thinking that he would be detained by domeſticall warre, and that it would be hard for him to returne to his armie during that diſſention, began now to take aduiſe of renewing warre againſt the Romanes. The Carnutians profeſſing that they would be leaders to that attempt bound others vnto them by oath, and hauing appointed a day they repaired to Genabis, where many of the Romanes did negociate, & were earneſtly occupied and buſied about their trafique & merchandiſe, all which were ſlaine by the French, which maſſacre being certainly reported at Aruernum and other parts of Fraunce, the Pietons, the Pariſians, the Ca- Treacherie againſt the Romanes in Fraunce.

durcians, the Tureus, the Aulerci, the Lemonickes, the Audians did ioyne in armour and did confederate with the Carnutians. Cæsar hearing of this new enterprise made speedie returne into Fraunce, and hauing placed seuerall garrisons in the cities of the Volscians, of the Artonikes, of the Tolossians, & in Narbo, which were neareſt vnto the enemies, he tooke Vellannodunum the citie of the Senones, & Genabis the chiefe towne of the Carnutians, which he spoiled and burnt, and many other townes did he take, and seised vpon many of the rebels, receiuing some of them into his mercie, & punishing very sharply the most notorious offenders.

Cæsar his reuenge vpon the rebels.

In the eight yeare he pursued the Carnutians to their vttermost ouerthrow: the Bellofaci conducted by two valiant captaines Corbius and Comius, were enforced to submit themselues, and Corbius was then slaine by Cæsars horsemen.

In the ninth yeare Cæsar did not enterprise any warlike affaires, but laboured specially to cut off all occasions of reuolting: therfore honorably emparling with the magistrates of

of the cities: beſtowing vpon the gouernors great rewards, and burdening them with no new taxes, he brought Fraunce being wearied by many warres, to a perfect and perpetuall peace, and departed thence to Italie, but was ſtill garded with an armie of ſouldiers.

In the ſeuenth yeare of Cæſars warfare in Fraunce, Iulia Cæſars daughter departed this world, and Pompeis litle ſonne which he had by her, within a ſhort ſpace after died alſo, which was a great cracke to the concord before continued. Pompey had alreadie proroged his Præſidētſhip in the prouince of Spain for fiue yeares: but the people of Rome did exceedingly grudge, that either Cæſar or Pōpey ſhould in any forraine prouince haue an armie of ſouldiers at their commaund, ſith all warres both forreine and domeſticall were ceaſſed & determined, becauſe they thought by that meane ſome daunger might grow to the Citie: for Pompey being now in Rome, did rule Spaine by Affranius and Petreius his Lieutenants, hauing in ſeuerall cities ſeuerall garriſons, and C. Cæſar had in the boſome of Italie an huge hoaſt, & had then a garriſon

Pompey his Preſidentſhip in Spain proroged.

at Rauenna, where he was personally resident: this did seeme also inconuenient to many of the nobles, and Pompey shewed himselfe very partiall: for he did fawne vpon them which would haue had Cæsars armie dismissed, but was very aduerse to others who would haue measured him by the same compasse, who if he had died in Campania two yeares before the ciuill wars, where he was greatly assayed by sickenesse, at which time all Italie did make speciall vowes for his health, his glorie which was gained by sea and land he had caried vntouched to the graue. Vpon these considerations L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus being Consuls, a decree was made by the Senate, that within a time limited Cæsar should discharge his armie, and if he would not, that he should be accompted an enemie, for Cæsar wold haue bene made Consul in his absence: but M. Cato did well answere, that no citizen ought to præscribe lawes to the commonweale: wherefore it was ordained that Cæsar contenting himselfe with one legion, should beare only the title of the Presidēt of France, and that he should come into the citie as a priuate

A decree made by the Senate, that Cæsar should dismisse his armie.

priuate man, & in his ſuite for the Conſulſhip, ſhould wholly relye vpon the voices of the people. C. Curio an impudent oratour, a mā wickedly witted, and eloquent for a publike miſchiefe, whoſe mind no riches could ſatiſfie, nor any pleaſures ſufficiently pleaſe, who firſt ſtood for Pōpey (as it was then accompted for the common weale, which I do not ſpeake to reprooue, but that I might not be reprooued) and now was in ſhew and apparance both againſt Pompey and Cæſar, but in deed and mind wholly for Cæſar: this Curio Tribune of the people, poſted in haſt to Rauenna where Cæſar was, and ſignified vnto him the order of the Senate, applying his eloquence as a brand to the inflaming of Cæſars furie. Curio came to Cæſar at the entrance of twilight, when the cloud of vapours and exhalations, is by nature diſpoſed to turn men into melancholie, which tooke ſo deepe hold on Cæſar, that making no anſwer to Curio, but caſting himſelfe on his bed he did in this ſort expoſtulate with the Romanes.

Cæſar is incenſed by Curio againſt the Senate.

Thus is Cæſar meaſured with a ſcantling, dieted with a paring, and rewarded with no-

The paſſionate ſpeech of Cæſar againſt the Senate.

" thing. Vanish from me thou sad and vgly cō-
" cubine of Erebus, thou grimme and duskie
" night, which with thy blacke circumference
" doest hoodwinke our sences, driuing the day
" from vs before we can flesh our swords, con-
" tracting our sinewes when they are but new-
" ly stretched, causing vs to lurke in our cab-
" bons when we should cleaue to the throats of
" our enemies; vanish I say from me, and delay
" not with thy lingering minutes my expeditiō
" against Rome. Against Rome? ô the ecchoe of
" my heart! nay for Rome, against the Ro-
" manes, amongst whom is Cn. Pompeius Ma-
" gnus, but not yet Maximus, for he lacketh a
" degree of that, and before he can attaine to
" it, there will be effusion of bloud by succession.
" But what careth he for that, was he not one of
" Syllaes whelpes, whose sword reaking with
" Italian bloud he so greedily licked, that the
" taste thereof doth as yet relice in his rauenous
" and polluted sawes? But learne of Sylla, learn
" of thy Sylla Pompey, that a tyrant bathing
" himselfe in goare, shall at length sinke by the
" weight of his cruelties. VVhat Cæsar hath
" done, I referre to the Oracle of Bellona, what

he will do I leaue to the concealed decree of „
sacred vengeance: what he may do, let the „
foredoming Parcæ prædestinate: what he „
ought to do let warlike iustice pronounce. „
VVas not Pompey made Consul without „
suing, without seeking, without speaking? and „
shall I requesting, yea and humbly requesting „
suffer a repulse? Fortune thou mightie and „
miraculous Goddesse, which in a moment „
doest procure a world of varieties, whetting „
with thine anger the points of our launces, „
shaking crownes and kingdomes with the „
spurne of thy foote, triumphing ouer our vi- „
ctories with the speckled wheeles of thy vo- „
luble chariot, controlling our hope with thy „
frowning countenance: thou knowest great „
goddesse, that if Rome hath at any time flou- „
rished: if it hath at any times tasted the pure „
and vnmingled extract of sincere happinesse, „
if it were euer caried on the brode wings of „
fame, if it did euer swim in a floud of plentie, „
it was through Cæsar and his fortune, & yet „
we are now dispised, and yet we will not be „
despised, fortune is able to reuenge the „
iniurie done to Cæsar, and Cæsar will „
alwaies fight for the præheminence of his „

« fortune. Therefore for the honour of Æneas
« against the defacers of his race, for the credit
« of mount Palatine, against the vniust magi-
« strates of Rome, for the glorie of Romulus
« who shineth in the heauens like a giant-starre
« against the seditious repugnants, I will shoot
« the sting of my wrath, and they shall well per-
« ceiue that Cæsar æsteemes no better of his
« enemies, then if a sort of hares should be har-
« nessed, which would trust rather to their feete
« then to their force: auaunt frō me pitie thou
« feminine passion, for I will deriue my name
« of a martiall act, and wil be called à cædendo
« Cæsar, possesse therfore my heart thou dread-
« full Nemesis, ransacke my vaines, rage within
« me wrath, assist me fiends, furies, and ye de-
« formed ghosts, subiect to the seuere edict of
« the baser destinie, make your seats and circles
« in the waste of Italie, and neuer forsake that
« place, till the fierie brightnesse of Cæsars su-
« premacie do deterre you from thence.

Cæsar in this rage of mind, carried away with the whirlewind of his turbulent spirit, left Rauenna and passed ouer Rubicon: the Senate hearing of his rebellion, decreed that

Pompey

Pompey should be Generall, & that he should haue monie out of the common treasurie. There was present choise made of souldiers throughout all Italie, warres were proclaimed, and taxes were imposed vpon the confines, suburbes and confederate cities. Cæsar hauing passed Rubicon seized vpon diuerse townes of Italie, Pisaurum, Fanum, Ancona, Tignium and Auximon, and he ran ouer all the Picene prouince, with his armie which was forsaken of Lentulus Spinther the gouernour there, and from thence he went to Corfinium, which was held of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, which he enioyed hauing Domitius also in his power, a most constant friend to Pompey, whose standard was at no time aduaunced, but it was worshipped and followed by Domitius: whome Cæsar did in this maner greet: Domitius I do franckly pardon thee & all those which belõg to thy charge, & with these words I make a perfect disclaime of anger and emnitie, I giue thee also free choise and election, whether thou wilt be a captaine in Cæsars campe, or still adhere to Pompey. Domitius not demurring vpon

Pompey is appointed by the Senat Generall against Cæsar

Cæsar pardoneth Domitius.

Domitius flyeth to Pompey.

Cæsars offer, did incontinent fly to Pompey, who was then at Brunduſium, and there were many at that time which did obſerue the like faithfulneſſe to Pompey, to whom Cæſar did more plentifully offer the benefite of life, thē they did thankfully receiue it. Cæſar haſted to Brunduſium to aſſault the Conſuls in that place, but failing of his purpoſe he addreſſed toward Rome: there was then in the citie great feare and amazednesſe, the people calling to memorie the crueltie of Marius, the matrons with their rented haire did diſplay their fearefulneſſe, the young damſels with ſalt teares did blemiſh their faces, their skriking voices & deepe drawne ſighs, did moue the heauens to a ſympathie. The ſilly babes flying as it were from the face of Cæſar, did cleaue to the breaſts of their parents, the ſturdieſt necks did then begin to ſtoope, and the ſtrongeſt hearts to melt, and nothing could be ſeene in Rome but ſignes of ſorrow: for as the earth when ſhe is diſrobed of her budding and fructifying trees, and of her amiable verdure, which is her onely grace and garment roiall, is like a naked table wherein nothing

is

is painted, ſo was Rome at that inſtant being bereaued of her young and luſtie gentlemen, euen as if the ſpringtide ſhould be taken from the yeare: and a great deformitie did then alſo ariſe by the abſence of the graue and auncient fathers, who with their ſpreading ſhadow did ſhield and protect the bodie of the citie, and did nouriſh the riſing plants of the generous braſill, gathering ſtrength and ſoliditie vnder the curtaine of their boughs. Cæſar hauing entred Rome, vſed all ſorts of men with great kindneſſe and curteſie, and hauing conuocated an aſſemblie declaring and aggrauating vnto them the iniuries of his enemies, he transferred all the blame vpon Pompey, and made a notable pretence, that he was deſirous of vnitie, and that peace was the virgin of his heart. But Cæſars Diamond was nothing elſe but glaſſe, and his words nothing but wind, which at that preſent was clearely and euidently perceiued, for he went in great haſt to the temple of Saturne, where the treaſurie of Rome was before his ranſack inuiolably kept, and at the gates of the temple L. Metellus Tribune of the people did

boldly resist him, and with these words entertained him.

Metellus his speech to Cæsar.

Cæsar the lawes of Rome haue made this place sacred, thou shalt not enter into this
" temple but through the sides of Metellus, &
" no coine shalt thou carrie from hence with-
" out bloudshed: vnsheath therefore thy blade,
" and feare not lest thy wrongs be espied: for
" alas we are now in a desolate citie, there be
" so few to condemne thy doings, that there
" be almost none to see them: thy priuate and
" rebellious souldiers shall not haue their pay
" out of the treasurie of Rome, and if thou wol-
" dest be rich by violence, there be strange wals
" for thee to batter. Cæsar in this sort replied vnto him.

" Shameless churle as thou art, this right-
" hand shall not vouchsafe thee so much honor
" as that thy bloud may shine vpon a souldiers
" steele. Metellus, thou art not worthie of my
" wrath, and where thou hoisest vp the saile of
" lawes and customes, assure thy selfe Tribune
" that the lawes of Rome had rather be cancel-
" led by Cæsar, then confirmed by Metellus. In the end by the earnest intreatie of his friends,

who

who were addicted to Cæsar rather for feare then contrarietie of opinion, Metellus gaue place to Cæsar, and he rushing suddenly into the temple, caused the treasurie which in many yeares space was leuied by polles, which was gained in the Carthaginian war, and in the victories had against Philip Perseus, and Pirrhus, together with the tribute of Asia, of Creet, and the wealth which Cato brought from Cypris, and which Pompey purchased by his warres, being caried before him when he triumphed, to be laid on asses backes, and to be caried as the sinew and supporter of his warres. This was thought the fowlest act that euer was committed by Cæsar, and it was neuer feared that Rome shold be poore by Cæsar. This captaine being as glad for this new bootie as some of his friends were sorie, led his souldiers toward Spaine, where Afranius and Petreius did rule the affaires vnder Pompey, but he did so masserate them with famine that he possest the greatest part of Spaine, without shedding many drops of bloud: then he went into that part of Spaine, which is now called Andeluzia, where M. Varro captaine

Cæsar seizeth the treasurie.

Cæsar marcheth toward Spaine.

to a great number of Veteranes, did hold a forcelet, but he being daunted with the presence of Cæsar, resigned all the prouince into his hands: thē he marched toward Dirrachio, taking by the way Orichum and Apollonia an Vniuersitie towne, where his Nephew Octauius was taught at that time in the liberall artes and sciences, who is said to haue accōpanied his vncle in the warres following, but becauſe it is a tradition of more antiquitie then credit, I do rather note it then affirme it. The fortune that Cæsar had, and the credite which Pompey enioyed in forraine nations, were two enticing lures, that drew to their seueral campes a great multitude of forrainers. To the assistance of Pompey from the coast of Greece which lyeth about the rockes of Cyrrha, and the clouen hill of Parnassus, came a great armie of the Phocenseans, from Thebes and the regions thereabout came the Bæotians, the Pisæans, and the Sicanians: from the townes that lye vnder Mænalus and OEte came the Dryopes, the Threspoti, and the Sellians: from Creet and Gortyna a number of good archers did present themselues to Pompey:

The forreiners which were readie in armes for the assistāce of Pompey.

Pompey: from Dardania, from Colchis, and the ſhore of the Adriaticke ſea, the Athamãts, Enchelians and diuerſe others: beſides theſe flocked vnto him thouſands from Babylon, Damaſcus, and Phrygia, together with the Idumæans, Tyrians, Sidonians and Phænicians: there came alſo from Tarſus, from Cilicia, from India, Perſia, Armenia, Arabia, and Æthiopia. For the aide of Cæſar there came many Scythians, Hircanians, and from diuerſe regions beyond the hill Taurus: likewiſe the Lacedæmonians, the Sarmatians, the Lydians, the Eſſedones, the Arimaſpians, the Maſſagites, the Mores, the Gelonians, the Marmarians, the Memnonians and they that dwell beyond the pillers of Hercules were readie in armour and ſhewed themſelues ſeruiceable to Cæſars commaund. Cn. Pompeius partly to welcome the ſtraungers that came to Dirrachio, and partly to encourage the Romanes which did follow him, and to make the cauſe of the vndertaken warre manifeſt to them all, the Nobles and Senators ſitting round about him in harneſſe, vſed this ſpeech vnto them.

The ſtraungers which were aſſiſtãt to Cæſar.

Pompey his oration to his souldiers

Let it not any whit dismay you friendly forreiners, and faithfull harted Romanes, that "you are now farre from the wals of the taken "citie, and if the Italian ingenuitie, and the "heate of the Romane bloud be as yet warme "within the Romanes, let them not marke v-"pon what earth they stand, so they stand vpon "the ground of a good and lawfull quarrell. It "is I trust euident to you all that we are the Se-"nate: for if we were in the vtmost climate of "the world, and directly vnder the freezing "waine of the Northerne Beare, yet in our "hands should be the administration and regi-"ment of the affaires of Italie. When Camil-"lus was at Veios Rome was there also, and "the Romanes forsaking their houses, did ne-"uer chaunge their lawes. Now is Rome Cæ-"sars captiue, and a sort of sorrowfull hearts "hath he there in hold, emptie houses, silent "lawes, and close courts: we are here as the pu-"nishers of Cæsars faults, and the armor which "we now beare, is but onely the wrath of re-"uengefull Rome. Cæsars warfare is as iust as "Catilines, and when he should be like to the "Scipioes, and the Marcelli, he falleth into the rebellious

rebellious faction of C. Marius, Lepidus, Carbo, Sertorius: and yet in truth I honour him too much to conſort him with theſe. He maketh accompt of me as of one withered, halfe dead and foredone with yeares: but it is better for you to haue an ancient captaine, then for Cæſar to leade an armie of ſpent and outworne Veteranes. And though the age which hope doth follow be farre more plauſible and acceptable, then that which death doth purſue, yet wiſedome and experience proceede from elder times, & the head whoſe haires reſemble the feathers of the ſwan is a Senatehouſe to a good armie. And if I may not be a ſouldier, yet I will be the example of a ſouldier vnto you. The æſtimation that I haue alwaies had amongſt you Romanes, by whoſe meanes I haue bene extolled to that honour, aboue which neuer any Romane citizen did aſcend, may warrant my warfare. With vs alſo are both the Cōſuls, with vs the armies of many forraine kings & potentates. Is Cæſar trow you ſo venturous, becauſe he warred ſo lōg againſt the vnruly French? why it was but a ſporting practiſe, more fit to

" traine his ſouldiers, then to merite triumph:
" or hath his fortune againſt the Germaines
" raiſed his courage, he went not ſo ſpeedily to
" the Germaines as he departed from them,
" and rather fearing them then feared of them,
" he called the Germaine ſea the whirlepit of
" hell? or doth his bloud begin to boile within
" him, becauſe the fame of his furie did ſuddēly
" driue the Senators out of their houſes and
" harbours? VVhen I diſplayed my blazing en-
" ſigne vpon the Ponticke ſea, the Ocean was
" no more traced with the pirate ſhips, but they
" did all crowd into a narrow corner of the
" earth. Mithridates that vntamed prince, who
" long expected when victorie ſhould flie from
" Rome, I enforced to take his pauillion, in
" which he died like a fugitiue coward, & ther-
" in I was more fortunate then the moſt fortu-
" nate Sylla. There is no part of the world with-
" out my trophees, and what land ſoeuer lyeth
" vnder the ſunne, hath either bene vanquiſhed
" or terrified by Pompey: and I haue left no
" warre for Cæſar, but this which now he main-
" taineth, in which though he ouercome, yet
" he ſhall neuer triumph. VVherefore the nea-

rer

rer Cæsar doth approch vnto you, the more »
let your courage rise, or if words cannot pre- »
uaile, imagine that you are now vpon the »
banckes of Tiber, and that the Romane ma- »
trons standing vpon the wals of the citie, with »
streaming teares, and dispersed hairelockes, »
do exhort you and intreate you to fight: Ima- »
gine that out of the gates of the citie the old »
and grayheaded fathers, that are not able to »
weild weapons do prostrate vnto your feete »
their hoarie heades, requiring succour and »
defence of you: and thinke that Rome her self »
fearing a tyrant boweth vnto you: thinke that »
the infants which are alreadie borne, & which »
hereafter shall be borne, haue mingled their »
common teares, and that they which as yet »
neuer saw the light, desire to be borne free, »
and they which do now liue desire to dy free: »
and if all this will not serue, then Pompey (if »
he may so debase the maiestie of a Generall) »
with his wife and children will fal before your »
feet. But this is my last behest that I require of »
you, let not Pompey who in his youth hath »
alwaies honored you, be dishonored through »
your default in his dying yeares, for your »

"selues, for your kindred, your freedome and "good estate. I protest thus much, that I will "neuer returne to Rome but I will carrie peace "in my hand, and the Olive braunch shall be "my ensigne. The Romanes were greatly emboldened hearing these words, seeing their Generall so youthfully minded, & as it were refined in the mould of Mars. Wherefore they expected Cæsar with prepared minds. And Cæsar hauing now præfected gouernors ouer Orichum and Apollonia, made great hast to Dirrachio, in which place at his first comming Pompey gaue him the onset, and made him to flie hauing lost a great part of his armie: and though M. Antonius came not long after to Cæsar with a fresh supply, ready to face and brest the enemie, yet Pompey did so plague the with continuall warring against them, when he saw conuenient time, that Cæsars victuals being almost wasted, he was faine through penurie of corne to flye into Thessali, and Pompey speedily pursuing him in the champion plaine of Pharsalia, pitched his tents directly against Cæsars. In Pompeis campe all things were glorious, magnificent,

Pompey putteth Cæsar to flight.

M. Antonius helpeth Cæsar.

and

and glittering in shew: in Cæsars all things powerfull, actiue, and strong. The Romanes being thus deuided both parties were greatly enflamed with desire of fight: Pompeis souldiers were readie to depriue him of the ensignes, and to enter the field without a Generall: so deliberatiue was that noble Captaine of their welfare, and so desperate were they and careless what befell vpon them. In Pompey there was this desire and thought to ouercome with as little bloudshed as might be. But what fiends and damned spirits diddest thou inuocate Caius Cæsar? what Stygian furies, what infernall hagges, and what nightly terrors didest thou intreat? to what Eumenides diddest thou sacrifice, intending such a generall slaughter? Pompey being earnestly vrged by his souldiers thought good to marshall his men, and to set the armie as might be most conuenient for the soile whereon they were to combate. The left wing of the armie was committed to L. Lentulus, the leading of the right wing had L. Domitius, the strength and middest of the battell did wholly relie vpon P. Scipio: vpon the bankes and

Pompey marshalleth his armie.

sides of the riuers did march the Cappadocians & Ponticke horsemen: in the brode field were Tetrarches, Kings, and Princes, and all the purpled Lords that were tributarie to Rome: Pompeis squadrons were furnished with many Romanes, Italians, and Spaniards. Cæsar seeing his enemies to haue discended into the plaine, was heartily glad that so good occasion was offred him, and that the day was come which with a million of wishes he called for: wherefore departing out of his tents and marshalling his souldiers he made toward Pompey. In this battell, the fathers face was directly against the sonnes, the brother was preparing himselfe against his brother, the vncle was the first that leuelled at the nephew, and he that did slay most of his kindred was accompted most couragious. VVhen the trúpets denounced the warres, and gaue a signe of fight, the Cæsarians did fiercely giue assault to the Pompeians. The force and vigor of the warre did consist in the launces, speares, and swords, which Pompey had well prouided against, by ioyning the targets one with another, so that Cæsar had much ado to breake

The Cæsarians giue the first assault.

the

the array: but fearing leſt his foremen ſhould faint, he cauſed the tranſuers legions to follow his enſigne, who as it were with a ſide-wind aduenturing vpon Pōpeis armie, ſtroke them downe on each ſide ſo faſt as they went. The barded horſe being incenſed with the heate of the warre, his heart being boared with the point of the ſpeare, exempted himſelfe from the reine. The Barbarians being not able to reſtraine them gaue way to Cæſar, and the foming ſteede being now the regent of the field, the fight was confuſed and diſordered: for vpon whom the dart did vncertainly light, leauing their horſes perforce they lay groning and groueling on the earth, till the hoofes of the arrearing courſers did cruſh the veile of their braines. Cæſar was now come to the heart and center of Pompeis armie, but the night drew on which made both ſides pauſe: Cæſar did thanke his ſouldiers, and gliding through euery troope and band of them, he did put nouriſhing oile into their burning wrath. He tooke view of their ſwords, curiouſly obſeruing whoſe weapon was ouerflowed with bloud, and whoſe

was dipped at the point, whose hand did trẽble and whose was stedfast, who changed the countenance through feare, & who through furie, and casting his eyes on the prostrate carcasses, frowning vpon them with curled forehead, as not yet satisfied he fed his irefull lookes with the desolate aspect of his slaine countriemen, but if he perceiued a gaspe in the flesh of his owne souldiers, he would endeuour to close it vp with his hand, & giuing them words of comfort and encouragement did sooner heale them then indeede they were healed. At the dawning of the day next ensuing, and at the first entrance of that mornings bloudie houres, when the welkin had put aside the vizard of the night, the starres being couered and the earth discouered by the Sunne, Cæsar giuing his souldiers new swords, new darts, speares and launces, and awaking their courage, giuing them also to vnderstand with the point of his launce, in what part of the aduerse armie the forreine kings, the Consuls, the Senators, and the nobilitie were placed, directed them as it were by aime, to gage the bodies of many excellẽt

men, who entangling their weapons in the intrals of these noble enemies, did throw to the ground & to extreme ruine many princely potentates: many reuerent persons were buried in goare: many of the Lepidi, of the Metelli, of the Coruini and Torquati: but amongst the rest the fortune of Domitius was dolorous and despitefull, he as before hath bene said, was once pardoned and dismissed of Cæsar, but now was singled out by Cæsar and grieuously wounded, but yet so great was his mind that he would not stoope to begge a second pardon, whome Cæsar looking vpon like a tyrant, and seeing him rowle his fainting members in the moistned dust, did with this bitternesse insult, giuing him the scornefull gaze: L. Domitius now I hope at length you wil forsake your maister Pompey, hereafter I trust you will practise no enmitie against Cæsar. But as good fortune would, he had as yet breath enough to replie in these few words. Cæsar I dy a free man, and I go to the region of Proserpina, not seeing thee as a conquerour, but as yet inferiour to Pompey, and euen at my death am I refreshed with this

Cæsar his speech to Domitius.

hope, that thou liueſt to be ſubdued by the rigor of deſtinie, which wil take reuenge both for vs, and for thy ſonne in law. Hauing ſpoken theſe words his life fled from him, and his ſight was taken away with a dreadful darkneſſe, by whoſe wounds ſo much bloud was not loſt, as there was glorie gained. For he gaue a cleare token of an honorable mind, accompting it a great deale better to haue dignitie without life, then life without dignitie. But Cæſar thinking nothing to be done if any thing were vndone, ragingly and earneſtly did ſeeke for the perſon of Pompey, & ruſhing into the thicke of his ſouldiers, neuer ſtretched out his arme without deaths warrant, and neuer looked backe but when he ſaw none to fight withall. Pompey ſtanding a farre off on the top of an hill, ſeeing the fields to ſwimme with bloud, and the Romane Senate to be nothing now but an heape of carcaſſes, and that his owne decay was ſought for by the bloud of a multitude, reſeruing himſelfe to ſome better fortune, forſooke the field and fled to Lariſſa. Cæſar perceiuing it, thought it better to giue ſome reſt to his armie,

Pompey flieth to Lariſſa.

mie, then with a ſudden purſuite to make after him: wherefore he retired his ſouldiers, & came to Pompeys tents. When the wandering night was chaſed frō the inferiour Iſlands by the recourſing day, and the Sunne had imparted his brightneſſe to our vnder-neighbors, and the dreames were readie to poſſeſſe the Theater of the fancie, the weariſome creatures of the world declining to their reſt: the Cæſarians hauing ranſacked Pompeis tents, and refreſhed their fainting bodies with the viand there left, betooke themſelues to their eaſe, and repoſed their wearied limmes in theſe plots which the Pompeians did before lodge in. But how ſhall I deſcribe the deformitie of that night, in which hell did breath out the ghoſts of them that were ſlaine, the aire was infected with contagious vapours, and the ſtarres trembled at the beholding of the vncouth Stygians? Sleepe did bring no quietneſſe vnto them, but flames, murmurs, horrors, and the hideous ſounds of the skriking Harpies. The ghoſt of the ſlaughtered Romane did appeare vnto them, and euery mans fancie was a fiend vnto him: ſome did

The dreams and viſions of the Cæſarians.

thinke that they beheld the image of a young man, ſome of an old man, others did dreame that their brethren were come to take reuēge on them; but in Cæſars mind were all theſe terrors: the ſlaine Senate did ſeeme to encō-paſſe him on all ſides, brandiſhing their fierie ſwords, ſweating, frying and dropping with roſen and ſulpher, and the greateſt torment of all was a guiltie conſcience. He was now moleſted with the powers of hell, when his enemies that ſuruiued ſlept quietly in Lariſſa. Pompey after his miſhap in Pharſalie made ſpeedie voiage toward Egipt where Ptolome did raigne: for Pompey hauing procured the reſtitutiō of his father to the throne of Egipt, and with many other ſinguler benefites hauing deſerued his fauour, thought that the young Prince in a kind regard wold haue entertained him according to his honour and deſert: but who doth buſie his memorie in recounting benefites? and who will thinke himſelfe beholden to one that is diſtreſſed? and when doth not fortune chaunge friendſhip? Ptolome, vnthankfull Ptolome, diſleagued with the ſenſleſſe litargie of foule ingratitude,

Pompey trauelleth to Egypt.

when

when by certaine report he heard that Pompey had approched to the ſhore, ſent out his dire and dreadfull meſſengers to depriue the aged bodie of the vnuanquiſhed mind. And when Achilles that bold butcherer did with his glaiue portend the laſt end of his daies, Pompey whoſe excellent qualities might encline a maſſagite to mercie, craued with conſtant countenance but a word or two of them, and as for life he was content to leaue it: the ſauage helhound would ſcarcely condeſcend to this requeſt, but at length his tygers heart yeelded, and Pompey in few words wiſhing to the Romanes libertie, to his wife comfort, to his ſonnes ſafetie, was beheaded by theſe mercileſſe Egyptians, and his head was borne as a preſent to Ptolome, which was farre too good a preſent for ſo lewde a prince. But how falſe was this world to Pompey, who had not now earth enough for his ſepulture, to whom before the earth was too little for his cõqueſt: but rare is that bird whoſe feathers do not moult, and happie is that man whoſe glorie doth not eclipſe. Cæſar made haſt after Pompey with an hote and earneſt purſuite, not

Pompey is beheaded by the Egyptiãs

knowing that he was preuented of the prize which he aimed at, and as the beasts which nature hath placed in the wilderneſſe, when poore pilgrimes walke by their ſolitarie and vncouth dens, runne all together with one rage, hunting their footſteps, euery one thinking to purchaſe the pray, the Lion, the Leopard, the Beare, the Beuer, the Tiger, the Luzerne and the VVolfe, making the woods to ring with hollow outeries. So the Cæſarians did enquire and make after Pompey, amazing the ſeas with ſounding trumpets, drums, fifes, and ſhawmes, and neuer ceaſſed their purſuite till they were arriued in Egipt, where they were roially entertained of Cleopatra the Egyptian princeſſe, who with complaint and mournfull melodie, did allure Cæſar, admiring her ſingular beautie, to tame and ſuppreſſe the pride of Ptolome, who had then deforced her from her ſoueraigne eſtate. Cæſar did not deny this faire Oratreſſe, hauing alreadie perſwaded him, if her toung had bin ſilent. Mars ſpent a long time with Venus, and before his departure from thence Cleopatra was another Calphurnia vnto him. But why

Cæſar entertained of Cleopatra.

do I name Calphurnia? For what proportion can there be betwixt a chaſt matron and a ſhameleſſe curtizan. Cæſar labouring to reſtore Cleopatra to her former dignitie was ſuddenly aſſaulted by the king of Egypt with an huge armie, and in that warre he was driuen to many extremities, the conduit pipes were cut a ſunder, and he was beſieged on euery ſide being as yet in Cleopatraes pallace, but in the end wraſtling out of theſe misfortunes, he gaue battell to the Egyptians at Pharoes, and conueying himſelfe into a gallie for the defence and ſafegard of his fleete which was grieuouſly toſt, he was ſo vexed and ſhaken by his enemies, that he was faine to leaue his gally, and ſwimming a great way in the riuer of Nilus, returned with great difficultie to his armie, but at the laſt encountring the Egyptians at Alexandria, he put the king and his whole armie to the ſword: and in theſe warres was burnt the notable librarie of Ptolomeus Philadelphus, but much againſt Cæſars mind, who as he was ſpecially learned ſo he made ſpeciall accompt of that monument of learning. Cæſar hauing raiſed Cleo-

Cæſar is aſſaulted by the king of Egypt.

Cæſar ſwimmeth in the riuer of Nilus

patra to her priſtinate roialtie, departed from Egypt and haſtened toward Vtica, but in the way being enformed that Pharnaces the ſon of Mithridates, whome Pompey when he had finiſhed the warre againſt Mithridates, had made king of Boſphorus, had ſubtracted from the Romanes, and atchieued to himſelf Cappadocia, Colchis, Armenia, and part of Pontus: Cæſar ſent againſt him Domitius Caluinus, whoſe armie was diſcomfited by Pharnaces. Cæſar did then in perſon make expedition againſt him, and aſſaulting him at Zelia, cauſed him at the firſt ioyning of battell to flye, and hauing entred Boſphorus, he was ſlaine of Aſander the author of his inuaſions. VVhileſt Cæſar was marching toward Vtica, M. Cato diſdaining to receiue life at the hāds of Cæſar, and greatly perplexed in mind that a man ſo rebellioully bent ſhould haue ſo proſperous fortune, did with violent hands determine his daies. Cæſar hauing taken Vtica as he was returning to Rome, did encounter P. Scipio on the ſeas, who ſeeking by all warlike meanes to preſerue the ſlender ſparckle of his dying life, was at length ſlaine.

Cæſar addreſſeth againſt Pharnaces.

Cæſar putteth Pharnaces to flight.

M. Cato killeth himſelfe

Cæſar encounteth P. Scipio.

And

and Cæsar sayling from thence enshoared in Sardinia, and making no long tarriance in that place, came the fine and twentieth day of that moneth, which beares his name at this day to the citie of Rome, where he was welcomed with such applause, such gratulation, with such melodie, with so rare banquets, and with so gorgious shewes, that Pompeis death was not bewailed with halfe so many teares, as he was entertained with ioyes, and for the sealing of their good affection towards him, they did grant to him by a fourefold triumph to enlarge his fame. A triumph was a most excellent honour, which the captaine who by battell had ouercome his enemies, returning with his armie into the citie did at the first enioy by the decree of the Senate, and afterward by the consent of the people. It was called a triumph, because the souldiers did crye along the streete as they went to the Capitolle, Io triumph. Surely the Romanes did greatly aduantage themselues by the vsing of these triumphes, for by them men were animated to warlike exploits. But many thinke a common-weale then onely to flourish, whē

What thing a triumph was amongst the Romans & how performed.

it hath peace and plentie, but being moued with the present face of things, and not foreeasting the sequele, they slip into errour, and foster in their minds fond opinions, for plentie breedeth securitie; securitie warre, warre desolation. The state of a countrey is then to be reamed prosperous, when it is throughly furnished with men able and sufficient to repulse forreine forces, with the prouentions of the earth, and other treasures of husbandrie. But how canst thou assure thy selfe of free and peaceable inioying of the riches of thy countrey, the space of one moneth without militarie discipline? For all regions except those which are situate vnder the extremitie of the climates, are enuironed with the circumference of other nations, from which warre may arise as easily, as the winde bloweth from the foure quarters of the world, in which dangerous accident the first and last refuge of humane helpes is the soldiers arme. Doubtlesse the Romanes were exquisite in all heroicall desert, but in their bountie and beneficence to souldiers incomparably excellent: for they knew, that the prouinces and Ilands adiacent could

could not be wonne by home-ſitting, or by a treatie of words: but they muſt gird their armour, confront their enemies, and exchange bloud for bloud, and when theſe countreyes were conquered, & they had taſted the ſweet of the vintage, which the ſouldiers had gathered, they did not reward them with ſower grapes, neither powred they vineger into their wounds, but aſſigned vnto them penſionarie lands, for their maintenance, and making thē franke allowance of ample rewards, encouraged them with crownes of glorie, triumphs, honors and dignities, ſo that victorie flouriſhed there where armes were fauoured. Surely Princes & potentates ought with tender indulgence to reſpect the infatigable paines of the ſouldier, leſt he murmur and ſay when he goeth to the fight, I ſhall either be ouercome, or ſlaine: and ſo be wholly ſubiect to the will and diſpoſall of mine enemie, or elſe be partaker of the victorie, and returne into my country, as into a pitched field, where I ſhall fight with penurie, contempt and vnthankfulneſſe, the laſt of which being either in the enemies chaines, or in the number of

his dead men, I ſhould neuer haue felt. But if the ſouldiers induſtrie be not quickened and ſtirred vp by bountie and reward, he hath no more will to performe any part of martial ſeruice, then a dead coarſe hath power to ariſe out of the graue. For what can be more precious to a man then his bloud, being the foũtaine and nurſe of his vitall ſpirits, and the ground of his bodily ſubſtance, which no free and ingenuous nature will looſe or hazard for nothing. And in truth there is great ods in the euent, for the ſouldier may either be ſlaine and ſo die without receiuing of his ſalarie, or elſe be wounded and die vnder the cure, and ſo receiue his ſtipend to the halfe part. This account being thus caſt, it falleth out that the ſouldier looſeth all or ſome part, & the Prince who is his pay-maiſter, ſaueth either all or ſome part. And whoſoeuer ſhall argument or diſcourſe vpon ſound reaſon, and infallible experience, may eaſily proue and conuince, that theſe commō-weales haue moſt proſpered, which haue liberally maintained and had in ſingular regard militarie artes. The mentioning of Cæſars triumph hath occaſioned me

me to vſe this digreſſion. This word Triumphus is deriued of the Greeke name of Bacchus θριαμβος, who hauing ſubdued India, was the firſt inuenter of this honor. Of triumphs there were two ſorts obſerued of the Romans, one the graund triumph, which by præheminence was called Triumphus, the other was the pettie triumph, and was commonly called Ouatio, of theſe triumphs ſome were done on land, ſome on ſea, ſome in the citie, ſome on mount Albane. It was therefore called Ouatio, becauſe the victoriate ſouldiers returning from the fight did ſhowte, and double the letter O. An Ouation did much differ frō a triumph, becauſe he which came into the citie by way of Ouation, was neither caried in chariot, nor cladde with robe triumphall, nor with any ornament of eſtate, neither did his armie march before him when he was entred the citie, neither was he crowned with laurel, nor brought in with ſound of trumpets, but walked through the citie on foot, his head being adorned with a mirtle crowne, his ſouldiers following him, and the ſhawmes onely ſounding. How the great triumph was cele-

brated, may be perceiued by this of Cæſars which was thus performed.

Cæſar his triumphs deſcribed.

Caius Cæſar ſitting in a rich and ſumptuous chariot, bordred round about with the crownes of Princes, his vpper garment being of purpled tiſſue, and beſpanged with lines of gold, his victorious armie marching before him garniſhed with the ſpoiles of Europa and Affrick, his captiues being boũd with chaines, which were tied to his chariots taile, did repreſent a wonderfull maieſtie to the gazing people: the trumpets and the clarions did ſound on each ſide. His firſt triumph diſplaied with a moſt radiant ſtanderd, the ſpoiles and conqueſts which he had in Fraunce: the images of Rhodanus and Rhene were wrought in ſiluer, the ſtreames were curiouſly deciphered, and the waues did ſeeme to riſe with a naturall and reall flowing. In the ſecond triumph ſtood the citie of Alexandria, and after it the armes of vanquiſhed Ptolome were blazed, the riuer of Nilus was painted with a faire cæleſtiall blew: the azured waues beirg compacted of coſtly glaſſe. In the third triumph was a maske of Ponticke mourners, &

Cæſars firſt triumph.

Cæſars ſecond triumph.

Cæſars third triumph.

the

the coarſe of Pharnaces was then caried in triumph: vpō the top of the coffin ſtood a triple plume, on the one part of which was written VENI, on the other VIDI, on the third VICI. In the fourth triumph Affrike went as captiue, and the perſon of Iuba king of Mauritania, his armes pictured as hauing mannacles of them was then alſo reſembled. For his victorie at Pharſalia there was no triumph, becauſe Pōpey was a Romane. VVhen Rome with ſmiling countenance had beheld theſe ſhewes, Cæſar accompanied with the Romane nobilitie entred the Capitolle, and there with ſpiced fires and fragrant odours did ſacrifice to Iupiter. After his thankes, vowes, and prayers perfourmed, he returned with the great applauſe and admiration of men, and amiddeſt other ſolemnities, Criſpus Saluſtius did greet him with this Oration.

Cæſars fourth triumph.

I know that it is a difficult and hard matter to giue counſell to a king, or Emperour, or to any man that is highly aduaunced, becauſe they haue ſtore of counſellers, & there is none ſo wiſe and warie, who can giue certaine aduiſe of that which is to come. Againe, bad

Saluſtes oration to Cæſar.

« counſelles are manie times better liked then
« good, becauſe fortune dallieth in things, and
« fancy in men according to their pleaſure. But
« I had a great minde in my youth, to handle
« matters of ſtate, and in knowing of them I be-
« ſtowed great labour and trauell, not to this
« end onely, that I might obtaine ſome place of
« dignitie in the common-weale, which manie
« by cuill artes and vnlawfull meanes haue cō-
« paſſed, but that I might alſo fully know the
« eſtate of the common-weale, as well in peace
« as in warre, and how much by munition, by
« men, and by monie it could do. Therefore
« toſſing many things in my mind this was my
« reſolution, to præferre thy dignitie Cæſar be-
« fore mine owne fame, and modeſtie, and to
« put any thing in practiſe ſo I might procure
« glorie to thee. And this I did not raſhly or to
« flatter thee, but becauſe in thee amongſt the
« reſt, I find one skill very maruellous, that thy
« mind hath bene greater in aduerſitie, then in
« proſperitie. But with others it is a matter of
« more accompt and reckening, that men be
« ſooner wearie with praiſing thy valor, then
« thy ſelfart wearied with doing things worthie
of

of praiſe. Surely I hold it for a rule, that no-„
thing can be fet from the depth of inuention,„
which is not readie to thy thought. And if„
this purpoſe ſhould onely raigne in thy breſt„
to deliuer thy ſelfe from the furie of enimies,„
and how thou maieſt retaine the fauour and„
good liking of the people, thou ſhould do a„
thing vnworthie of thy vertue. But if that„
mind be as yet reſident in thee, which from„
the beginning diſturbed the faction of ſediti-„
ous men, which brought the Romanes from„
the heauie yoake of ſeruitude vnto libertie,„
which without weapons did confound the ar-„
mies of thine enemies, whereof haue enſued„
ſo many and ſo glorious actes both at home,„
and abrode, that thy foes cannot complaine„
of any thing but of thine excellencie, then re-„
ceiue from me ſuch things, as of the ſumme„
or ſtate of the common-weale I ſhall deliuer:„
which doubtleſſe thou ſhalt either find to be„
true, or elſe certainly not farre from the truth.„
There is no man brought vp in a free eſtate,„
who doth willingly yeeld ſuperioritie to ano-„
ther, and though the mightier man be by na-„
ture of a good and mild diſpoſition, yet be-„

" cause when he will he may be wicked and in-
" iurious, he is therefore feared: which happeth
" because many great men are peruersly min-
" ded, and thinke themselues so much the safer,
" by how much more they do permit other mē
" ouer whom they rule, to be wicked & vniust.
" But surely a contrarie course should be taken,
" when the Prince is good himselfe, to labour
" and indeuour likewise to make the people
" good. For euery bad fellow doth most vnwil-
" lingly beare a gouernour, but this to thee
" Cæsar is of greater difficultie, then to others
" who haue ruled before thee: thy warre hath
" bene more mild then the peace of other mē:
" besides they which did ouercome, do de-
" maund the spoile, they which are ouercome
" are their fellow citizens. Through these diffi-
" culties must thou passe. And strengthen the
" common weale for succeeding posteritie, not
" by weapons, nor as against enemies, but
" which is farre greater and more difficult, by
" peaceable meanes. Therefore to this point
" the state of things doth call euery man either
" of great or of meane wisedome, to vtter as
" much good as he can concerning this matter.

For

For mine owne part this I thinke, that as by „
thee the victorie ſhall be qualified and orde- „
red, ſo ſhall all things follow. Thou diddeſt „
wage battell noble Cæſar with an excellent „
man, of great power, and deſirous of glorie, a „
man of greater fortune then wiſedome, fol- „
lowed by ſome few, enemies both to thee & „
to themſelues, ſuch as either affinitie did draw „
vnto him, or ſome other bond of dutie: for „
none of them was partaker of his dominatiō, „
which he could not tollerate. For if he could
haue brooked an equall, the world had not
bene ſet on fire with warre: but becauſe thou „
art deſirous to eſtabliſh peace, and vpon this „
anuill thou and thy friends do continually „
beate, conſider I pray thee of what nature the „
thing is whereof you conſult. Certainly I haue „
this conceit, that becauſe all things which „
haue beginning muſt haue end, when the fate „
and determined lot of deſtruction ſhall fall „
vpon this citie, that our citizens will contend „
and make warre againſt their fellow citizens, „
and ſo being wearied and conſumed will be- „
come a pray to ſome forraigne king or nati- „
on: otherwiſe, not the whole world, nor all „

Pompey could not brooke an equall.

" the people vnder the arch of the heauens be-
" ing muſtred or aſſembled together, ſhall be
" able to ſhake or cruſh this flouriſhing com-
" mon-weale. Therefore the good effects of
" concord are to be maintained, and the euils
" of diſcord to be baniſhed and driuen away:
" that may eaſily come to paſſe, if thou abridge
" the licence of riotous ſpending, and iniurious
" extorting, becauſe young gentlemen in theſe
" times are inured to ſuch a faſhion, that they
" thinke it a glorious matter vainly to miſpend
" their owne goods and the goods of other mē,
" denying nothing to their owne luſt, nor to
" the ſhameleſſe requeſt of their leud compa-
" nions: and their reſtleſſe mind hauing entred
" into a crooked way, and diſſolute courſe, whē
" their maintenance faileth them, and wonted
" ſupplies are wanting, do conceiue a burning
" indignation againſt their fellow citizens, and
" turne all things out of courſe. In that commō-
" weale all things are well ordered, where offi-
" ces and dignities are not ſold, and where am-
" bition enioyeth not the rewards of vertue:
" this and all other euils ſhall ceaſe when mony
" ſhall ceaſe to be honoured, where riches are
precious,

precious, there all good things are vile: faith, „
honeſtie, modeſtie, chaſtitie, becauſe there is „
but one way to vertue, and that is hard and „
rough, but to mony there be many ſmooth „
waies: it is gained as well by euill as by good „
meanes. Couetouſneſſe is a ſauage and de- „
uouring beaſt, immane, & intollerable: which „
way ſo euer it wendeth, it waſteth, & deſtroy- „
eth townes, fields, temples and houſes: it min- „
gleth holy and humane things together: nei- „
ther armes nor wals can ſtop the courſe of it. „
It ſpoileth and bereaueth men of fame, chil- „
dren, countrie and parents: but if thou debaſe „
the high accompt of monie, the force of co- „
uetouſneſſe by good manners will be abated. „
I haue by reading found, that all kingdomes, „
cities, and nations haue ſo long enioyed a „
proſperous eſtate, whilſt true aduiſe did pre- „
uaile in them: but whenſoeuer fauour, feare, „
or pleaſure was the ſterne or motiue of their „
counſels, then their wealth was firſt diminiſh- „
ed, next their dominion abridged, and laſtly, „
their libertie impeached. VVherefore I be- „
ſeech and exhort thee renowned Cæſar, that „
thou wouldeſt not ſuffer ſuch a goodly domi- „

" nion as this to be tainted with ruſt, or by diſ-
" cord rented in peeces. If that thing happen,
" neither night nor day will appeaſe the ſtorms
" of thy mind, but by dreames being rowzed
" from thy bed, thou ſhalt be chaſed and pur-
" ſued with continuall cares. I haue diſpatched
" in few ſuch things as I accompted honorable
" for thee Cæſar, and neceſſarie for this com-
" mon-weale. The moſt part of men to iudge
" of others, haue ſufficient conceit, at leaſt in
" their owne conceit, and to reprooue an other
" mans deeds or words, euery mans mind doth
" burne with deſire. They thinke their throat
" is not wide enough, nor their toung glib e-
" nough to poure out of their breaſts their ma-
" licious exceptions, to whoſe cenſure that I am
" ſubiect, doth ſo little ſhame me, that it would
" haue grieued me to haue bene ſilent: for,
" whether it ſhall pleaſe thee to follow this
" courſe or ſome better, I ſhall not be mooued:
" ſith I haue ſpoken as much as my barrenneſſe
" could bring foorth. It remaineth for me and
" for vs all to wiſh, that ſuch things as thou ſhalt
" in wiſedome effect, the gods would proſper.
Cæſar afterward to match his foure triumphs,

was

was made the fourth time Conſul: his ſtatue alſo was placed amongſt the ſtatues of the auncient kings: in the Senat-houſe there was a throne of iuorie made for him: in the theater his roome was ſuch, as it contained pleaſure, pompe, and coſt: his image was exquiſitly painted in the Orcheſter, a place wherein the Romaine gentlemen did vſe to daunce and vaut: the moneth of Iuly was then alſo cõſecrated to Iulius, as the moneth of March is to Mars. Cæſar did not reſt in theſe honors, but thought ſtill to propagate his fame by warlike exploits. VVherefore hearing that Põpeis ſons did raiſe great tumults & vprores in Spaine, he made great haſt thitherward, & at the towne of Siuill oppoſed himſelfe to Cn. Pompeius one of the ſonnes of Pompey the Great, who was conſtrained to flye, but Labienus met him at vnawares, and hauing ſlaine him, brought his head to Cæſar.

The great honors beſtowed vpon Cæſar.

Cæſar fighteth with Cn. Põpeius the younger at the citie of Siuill.

Sex. Pompeius his brother eſcaped by flight.

# ATROPOS,

## *Or the third Booke.*

THe warre in Spaine being quickly diſpatched, Cæſar returned to Rome: and the Romanes did redouble his honours, for he was preſently made Dictator perpetuall, Cenſor perpetuall, Conſull for ten yeares, and Emperour of Rome: he was called alſo the father of his countrie. But Cæſars fortunes did ſoone after begin to decline, and theſe diuerſe coloured titles were but as reinebowes, which do glitter gallantly for a time, but are ſuddenly extinct: his fatall houre was now approching, and enuie ſtayed in the cloudes expecting his end. But as a mightie and huge oake, being clad with the exuuials and trophes of enemies, fenced with an armie of boughs, garniſhed with a coate of barke as hard as ſteele, deſpiſeth the force and power of the windes,

The Romans beſtow many honors vpon Cæſar.

as

as being onely able to dallie with the leaues, and not to weaken the roote; but the Northerne wind that ſtrong champion of the airie region, ſecretly lurking in the vault of ſome hollow cloud, doth firſt murmur at this aſpiring oake, and then doth ſtrike his creſt with ſome greater ſtrength, and laſtly with the deepeſt breath of his lungs doth blow vp the roote. So vndoubtedly was it with Cæſar, who diſdained feare, and thought it a great deale better to die then to thinke on misfortune: but deſtinie is no mans drudge, and death is euery mans conqueror, matching the ſcepter with the ſpade, and the crowned king with the praiſleſſe peaſant. As none was more noble then Cæſar, ſo nothing was more notable, then the death of Cæſar: for his deareſt friēds became his greateſt enemies, and their hands plucked him downe, whoſe ſhoulders did lift him vp. Many cauſes were pretended of the conſpiracie bent againſt him, the honours which were beſtowed vpon him, being both manie and great, did cauſe him to be enuied of the Nobles: and likewiſe it was a matter of cauill, becauſe ſitting before temple of Venus

The cauſes of the conſpiracie bent againſt Cæſar.

genitrix the Senate comming to him to consult with him of great affaires, he did sit and welcome them, and did not rise vnto them: another occasion of quarell was, because M. Antonius would haue set a Diademe vpon his head: the fourth cause was, because he depriued Epidius, Metellus, and Cesetius Flauius of the Tribuneship: fiftly it was greatly murmured, because it was constantly reported, that L. Cotta Quindecemuir that is a cõtemplatiue reader of Sybillaes prophecies, would pronounce sentence, that because it was contained in the prophecies of Sybilla, that the Parthians could not be ouercome but by a king, therefore Cæsar should be highted the king of Rome. For these causes a conspiracie being raised against him, in which the chiefe agents of the Pompeians, were M. Brutus and C. Cassius, and of the Cęsarians D. Brutus and C. Trebonius, in the Ides of March, and in the Senate-house, which was called Pompeyes court, he was pierced with three and twentie wounds, which because they were many, and most of them were in the belly, and about the midrise, Cæsar as ashamed of such wounds, did

Cæsar is slaine in the Senat-house

did let downe his robe from his ſhoulders to couer them, and fell as a ſacrifice vnder the ſtatue of Cn. Pompeius Magnus. M. Antonius and other friends of Cęſar, were ſpared by the aduiſe of M. Brutus, leſt they might ſeeme rather to be authors of a faction, then of Cæſars death. After this bloudie exploit, they by whō he was ſlaine, held the Capitolle. I cannot giue Brutus praiſe for this, but I rather thinke that he deſerueth diſpraiſe: for had the cauſe of quailing him bene iuſt, yet the courſe & maner of killing him, doth apparantly ſeeme vnlawfull: for by that act the law Portia was broken, by which it was prouided, that it ſhould not be lawfull for anie to put to death anie citizen of Rome indicta cauſa. The law Cornelia de maieſtate was alſo violated, by which it was made high treaſon, for any man to take anie aduiſe, or make anie conſpiracie, whereby a Romane Magiſtrate, or he which had a ſouereigne power, without iudiciall proces might ſuffer death. And that ancient law was alſo deſpiſed, by which it was forbidden, that no Senator ſhould enter into the Senate houſe armed with any warlike weapō, or hauing about

M. Antonius is ſpared at the time whē Cæſar is ſlaine.

The law Portia broken by the killing of Cæſar.

The law Cornelia broken by the killing of Cæſar.

him anie edged toole. Surely they that will end tumult with tumult, can neuer be seized of good successe or fortunate euēt: for discord may breed, continue & augment contention, but it can neuer end it: and to expect that all differences should be calmely compounded by generall accord, is a thing not much to be hoped for, because it seldome happeneth. M. Brutus, the chiefe actor in Cæsars tragedie, was in counsel deepe, in wit profound, in plot politicke, and one that hated the principality whereof he deuested Cæsar. But did Brutus looke for peace by bloudshed? did he thinke to auoyd tyrannie by tumult? was there no way to wound Cæsar, but by stabbing his own conscience? & no way to make Cęsar odious, but by incurring the same obloquie? VVill anie man speake vnto me of the wisedome of Brutus, when he thinketh vpō the field of Philippi, wherein Brutus was like to the Comet, who feeding vpon vapours & vaine opinions, at length consumed and confounded himself: and thus were the two Bruti, I meane the first and the last, famous men of that honourable name, both fatall to the estate of the Romane Common-

Common-weale: for the former of them did expell the laſt king of the Romanes, and the later did murder their firſt Emperour. But if Cæſars death had bene attended, till naturall diſſolution, or iuſt proceeding had cauſed it, his nephews entrie into the monarchie might well haue bene barred and intercepted: becauſe theſe honors were annexed and appropriated to Cæſars perſon. And if patience might haue managed their wiſdomes, though there had bene a Cæſar, yet ſhould there neuer haue bene an Auguſtus. But by bloudſhed to ſeeke for peace, is by oyle to quench fire. VVhen any innouation or alteration is to be hatched, the ſtate of things muſt be quiet and ſecure, that the wheele may be eaſily turned about, without hearing any noiſe. For to commit the murder of a ſoueraigne Magiſtrate, & to defend thy ſelfe by armes, is as if a man ſhould couer himſelfe by water from a ſhowre of raine, or ſhould deſcend into ſome hollow of the earth for auoiding of infectious aire: & if the moſt barbarous and immaine tyrant, ſhould trecherouſly, that is without warrant of iuſtice be ſlaughtered, though at his death he

were vtterly deſtitute of friends, yet his enemies ſhould be ſure to finde enemies: for no cõmon-weale can be without men of aſpiring humours, and when ſuch a murder is wrought they find preſent occaſiõ to tumultuate, knowing that Anarchie breedeth confuſion, & that it is beſt fiſhing in a troubled ſtreame: making a glorious prętence to reuenge the death of a Prince, though in heart & in truth, they beare greater affectiõ to the monarchie remaining, then to the Monarke who is taken away: neither in regard of ſupreme power and prærheminence, will I put diuerſitie betweene the perſon of a king and a tyrant; for he which attaineth to an imperiall or regall ſouereignetie, by warlike induſtrie and victorious exploit, is no leſſe a Monarke, then he which cometh to it by election, ſucceſſion or deſcent: & he that is made ſubiect by ſword, is as much ſubiect as he that by birth is a deniſon. But was Iulius Cæſar a tyrant? Surely there was more tyrannie in the ſlaughter then in the man ſlaine: Cęſar I graunt was a traitour to the State before the victorie, but after he exchanged that baſe name, with the beſt title of dignitie, and of a

traitour

traitour became an Emperour: yet did he not aggrauate to himselfe that type of honor, the people offred it vnto him, he accepted it with thankes: manie had offended him, he pardoned them, yea rewarded them with great boũtie. He was content to haue a fellow Consull, he suspected none of them which were the workmen of his death, he did neither depresse the Noble man by slaũder, nor aduance them of obscure condition by flatterie and bribes: & which is incõpatible to tyrannie, he shewed self-will in nothing, when he was inuested with supremacie; but questionlesse the Romanes should not haue nourished this lyon in their Citie, or being nourished, they should not haue disgraced him. The goared body of Cęsar was honourably transported to Campus Martius. Afterward M. Cicero becausse he was desirous to restore peace, and to reconcile the states, procured a decree to be made after the example of the Athenians, which they called their Amnestia, that the killing of Cæsar shold be forgotten & forgiuen, and this was ratified by Senate. But the conspirors would not in anie wise lay aside their armour, vnlesse they

Cęsar his bodie is transported to Cãpus Martius.

might haue certaine assurance and securitie that their persons, lands, and goods should be safe and vntouched. Wherefore for pledges they had the sonnes of M. Antonius, & M. Lepidus, and then they descended out of the Capitolle. C. Octauius hearing of the great change that had happened in Rome, came as some say from Epirus, as others from Apollonia, to whom I rather agree: but he was welcome to all sides and sects. And by the testament of his vncle, who had adopted him to be his heire, he tooke the name of Iulius Cæsar. M. Lepidus was at that time made Pontifex maximus in Cæsars place. The Senate did assigne the prouince of Syria to Dolabella, and Macedonia to Antonius: but afterward when M. Antonius did shew himself too imperious, and would haue resigned his charge in Macedonia, and haue bene Præsident of France, he suffered a repulse of the Senate, wherupon he appealed to the people, which did greatly incense the Senate against him, and Octauius was also grieuously displeased with him, because craving his assistāce against the enemies of his vncle, he was in grosse & odious termes abused

The Senate incensed against M. Antonius.

Octauius becommeth an enemie to Antonius.

abuſed of Antonius: Octauius therefore by the aſſent of the Senate, being accompanied with his vncles veteranes, prepared warre againſt him. D. Brutus to whom the prouince of France was committed by Cæſar, and after his death confirmed to him by the Senate, that he might reſiſt Antonius, who was then making toward Fraunce, came with an armie to Mutina, and there ſuffered him ſelfe to be beſieged. The Senat did afterward ſend meſſengers to Antonius, to treate with him of peace, which were L. Piſo, L. Philippus, and Seruius Sulpitius. But when they returned without cõcluding any thing, warre was proclaimed, and Hirtius being Conſul went againſt him, Octauius as Proprætor, Panſa the other Conſul followed them within a few dayes after. Cæſar and Hirtius hauing brought Bononia into their power, did pitch their tents neare to Antonius, who leauing a ſufficient armie to beate them from the wals of the towne wherein his forces were, did priuily and cloſely go from thence to meete with Panſa, as he was coming to Bononia, with whom he entred battell, and had a proſperous victorie, but as he was retur-

D. Brutus ſuffereth him ſelf to be beſieged by Antonius.

M. Antonius fighteth with Panſa.

Hirtius fighteth with Antonius.

ning to his tents, Hirtius opposed himselfe in the way, and curtalled his victorie, doing vnto him as great a damage as he did to Pansa: for which cause both the Consuls and Cæsar, were called as well of the Senate as of the soldiers Emperors, although Pansa had but bad successe, and Cæsar did not fight at all. But shortly after there was a great battell fought betwixt these three and Antonius, in which battell Antonius being constrained both to leaue his tents and armie, fled into France to Lepidus Proconsul. Hirtius after the victorie being sore wounded, died sodainly in his enemies tents. Pansa not long after died of a wound also at Bononia. Brutus and Mutina being deliuered from siege, only Cæsar escaped safe, and enioyed a most glorious victorie. The father of Cæsar was C. Octauius a prætorian, and Atia was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus, and Iulia the sister of Iulius Cæsar, and being adopted of C. Cęsar, and made his onely heire, he was called C. Iulius Cæsar Octauianus. After these warres he became an enemie to the Senate, because they had affoorded a triumph vnto D. Brutus, and had made

The two Cōsuls & Octauius fight against Antonius.

Octauius becommeth an enemie to Antonius.

made him Generall in the warre againſt Antonius, who ſtood onely vpon the walles and doing nothing, did onely behold the fight, paſſing by Octauius vnregarded, who had deliuered the Common-weale from danger; alleaging that it was but a ſconce and colour to beſtow vpō him Conſul robes & to make him Prætor ten yeares before his time, which was to beſtow the kernell vpon others & the ſhell vpon him. And to trie them further he ſent to the Senate, to requeſt them, that he might be made Conſul in the place of one of them which were ſlaine: & becauſe he could not obtaine it by petition, he determined to purchaſe it by warre. Therefore reconciling himſelfe to M. Antonius and M. Lepidus, he led a great armie againſt the Citie, and ſent meſſengers to the Senate in the name of his Captaines & ſouldiers to demaund the Conſulſhip of them: who when they had moued the matter to the Senate, and the Senate was in a great doubt what to do, Cornelius a Cēturion that was the principall meſſenger, laying his hand vpō the hilt of his ſword, in great boldneſſe ſaid vnto thē, this ſhall do it, if you

Octauius his requeſt to the Senate.

Octauius reconcileth himſelf to M. Antonius and M. Lepidus.

will not do it. The Pompeians were in truth wedded to too much partialitie, for why had Brutus the glorie of triumph, vnleſſe it were becauſe his life was ſaued by other mens valour? And why were the bodies of Panſa and Hirtius ſolemnely and honorably enterred, and Cæſar who was liuing, & partaker of the victorie nothing regarded? Nay they did apparantly deſpiſe him. For, ſending meſſengers they enioined them to parle with his ſoldiers and leaue Octauius vnſpoken to: but they did with great choler anſwer, that they would not heare anie thing vnleſſe their Generall were preſent. This peruerſe and prepoſterous dealing made Octauius to enter the City in warlike maner, and as an enemy vnto them, and there he made himſelfe Conſul, & Q. Pedius his colleague. M. Cicero did then in publike aſſemblies greatly commend and extoll Octauius, but he ſpake one thing and meant another: for if dangers had bene once paſt, Ciceroes tongue would haue turned another way. VViſe and circumſpect he was to preuent a miſchiefe, but timerous & fearefull to withſtand it when it was befallen. Afterward

M. Cicero doth greatly commend Octauius.

ward affinitie was contracted betwixt Antonius and Cæſar, for Cæſar tooke to wife Clodia the ſtep-daughter of Antonius. He was Conſul before he was of the age of twentie yeares, and in that Conſulſhip held nothing in ſo curious charge, as to take reuenge vpon the enemies of his adoptiue father: wherfore he requeſted Q. Pedius his colleague to enquire of them by whoſe conſpiracie he was ſlaine, and thereupon M. Brutus, C. Caſſius & D. Brutus being abſent were condemned. D. Brutus to whom the Senate had committed the dealing with Antonius, being forſaken of his armie fled to Aquileia & was there ſlaine. But the eſtate of the Common-weale at that time ſhall appeare by an Epiſtle of M. Brutus written to C. Caſſius, which I haue here ſet downe: whereby a man may learne how to moderate and demeane him ſelf in common calamities, whē iuſtice is turned out of courſe and the lawes are ſilent. It was to this effect.

Cęſar taketh Clodia to wife.

D Brutus is ſlaine.

M. Brutus to C. Caſſius ſendeth commendations; according to couenant & promiſe my „
Caſſius, I write vnto thee ſuch newes as I haue „
receiued from Rome. Octauius as I heare, „

" hath maried himselfe to the daughter of Ful-
" uia the wife of Antonius, for which mariage,
" I am neither verie glad, nor greatly sorie: ma-
" nie vse such mariages as pledges of reconci-
" liation, and thinke them of sufficient force to
" change hatred into loue, but are greatly de-
" ceiued. For it is one thing to make alliance,
" and another to make amity, sith they proceed
" from seuerall causes, and hauing a different
" course, must needes produce diuerse effects,
" for alliãce groweth, by bringing one kindred
" to the marches of another; but friendship ei-
" ther by long conuersing together, or by a
" grounded opinion of good desert, or by like-
" nesse of qualities where there is no inequality
" of estate: and he that seeketh friendship out
" of these præcincts, will neuer find it. Therfore
" by such mariage emnitie will not fully cease,
" nor friendship firmely be setteled: for it is
" rather a meane betwixt these two extremes,
" then either a mother to the one, or a step-
" dame to the other. I receiued letters lately
" from M. Antonius, directed to vs (whereof I
" haue sent you here inclosed a copie) verie
" contumelious, minatorie, and not worthie to

Antonius writeth cõtumelious letters to Brutus & Cassius.

be

be ſent from him, to vs: but his threatnings I » do not much regard. For amongſt free men » the authoritie of him that threatneth, is no » more, then the law wil permit: for mine owne » part I could wiſh that he were great in the » Common-weale, ſo he were honeſt. I will not » prouoke him to emnitie, but will alway præ- » ferre the libertie of my countrey, before his » friendſhip: he obiecteth to vs often the death » of Cæſar, but he ſhould conſider how ſmall » a time Cæſar raigned, not how litle while he » liued. And Octauius forſooth digeſting at » length, the hollow conditions of his father in » law, ſeemeth greatly to ſtomake that we boſt » ſo much of the Ides of March, when notwith- » ſtanding only one man was ſlaine: yet not ſo » much as he vanteth of the Nones of Decem- » ber, at which time he ſlaughtered more then » one. Cicero once thought that the Commõ- » weale as a naked orphane ſhould be prote- » cted by armes, but now he præferreth an vn- » iuſt peace before a iuſt warre: wherein he » ſheweth how vniuſt he is: he is fortunes page, » and fauoureth them moſt who haue moſt fa- » uourers. A wiſe man, though by oportunitie »

" he do alter his pace, yet ſtill keepeth his way,
" ſerueth time for aduantage not for feare, and
" as the ſunne ſetteth to riſe againe, ſo he chan-
" geth his courſe to continue his purpoſe: but
" to an vnconſtant man euerie accident is a cō-
" ſtellation, by which he is diuerſified and dri-
" uen from the center of his thoughts. Though
" Octauius call Cicero father, vſe him kindly,
" praiſe him, thanke him, yet it wil appeare that
" his words are contrarie to his meaning: for
" what is more auerſe from common ſenſe, thē
" to call him father whom he will not ſuffer to
" be free? By theſe lineamēts I haue ſhadowed
" vnto thee my Caſſius the fickleneſſe and lu-
" bricitie of Ciceroes variable mind, which as
" it is not certaine to himſelfe, ſo it is not ſafe to
" vs: let him liue as he doth adulatoriouſly and
" abiectly: to me which am oppoſed to the
" thing it ſelfe, that is, to a kingly regiment, ex-
" traordinarie rule, domination and ſuperiori-
" tie which would extol it ſelf aboue the lawes,
" no ſubiection can be ſuch as that I may brook
" it. There can be no valiāt nor free mind with-
" out conſtancie, neither can any thing be glo-
" rious without the iudgement of reaſon. In the
buſineſſe

buſineſſe of the common-weale I would haue „
nothing done, without the conſtitution and „
decree of the Senate and people, neither will „
I arrogantly prejudicate, or boldly retractate „
that which they ſhall hereafter do, or hereto- „
fore haue done, but I accompt it more conſo- „
nant to the good eſtate of the cõmon-weale, „
rather with pitie to mollifie the miſerable e- „
ſtate of diſtreſſed perſons, then by graunting „
euerie thing to the deſire of the mightie, to „
inflame their luſt and inſolencie. Surely the „
Senatours are many times deceiued in their „
hope, and if a man haue done one thing wel, „
they preſently yeeld and permit all things „
vnto him, as though a minde corrupted by „
their largeſſe, and liberall offers, might not „
be traduced and caried away to euill purpo- „
ſes and attempts: but they may not beſtow „
any thing which to men euill diſpoſed may „
be either a præſident or a protection, and I „
am afraid that Octauius by his late Conſul- „
ſhip, do thinke him ſelfe to haue aſcended „
higher, then that he will deſcend: for if An- „
tonius by the death of Iulius Cęſar tooke prę- „
ſent occaſion of tyranniſing, how much more „

" will Octauius vsurpe, when both Senate and
" people do applaud to his affection. Neither
" will I commend the facilitie and prouidence
" of the Senate in this behalfe, before I haue ful
" experience, that Octauius will content him-
" selfe, with the ordinarie honors that he hath
" receiued: but if it otherwise happen, I must
" needes pronounce the Senate guiltie of the
" fault, which they might well haue præuented.
" Yet if this yong man do lay aside siniſter and
" affectious humours, and imbarke himselfe in-
" to the cõmon cause with impartiall thoughts,
" I shall then thinke that the Common-weale
" will be able to support it selfe, by her owne
" strength and sinewes, that is iustice and inte-
" gritie; and that thenceforth, no offence, shall
" either be cruelly reuenged, or dissolutely re-
" mitted. Of our future affaires this is my de-
" terminate resolution, so it may obtaine thy
" approbation; if things happen to be in better
" plight we will returne to Rome, if the estate
" be as now it is, we will liue as now we do, in
" voluntarie exile: if it decline frõ bad to worse,
" we must flie to armes as our last and worst re-
" fuge, wherefore Cassius do not faint, nor
dispaire,

diſpaire, let the hope of good things encou- »
rage thee, vertue onely is confident. From »
Smyrna 17. Kalend. April. »

Cæſar when by no meane he could be reuenged of Brutus, who was Præſident of Macedonia, and Caſſius who had the regiment of Syria, he ſent for M. Antonius and M. Lepidus who were then in France, and they three meeting at Bononia, had conference of ordering and diſpoſing the common affaires, and there they agreed to be Treuiri, for the conſtitution of the common-weale for fiue years ſpace. To the charge of Lepidus Spaine and Gallia Narbonenſis were alotted, to M. Antonius the other parts of Fraunce, to Cæſar Libia, Sicilia, and Sardinia. After theſe conſultations they came to Rome, and aſſigned offices to whom it pleaſed them, asking no leaue either of people or Senate. At that time many excellent Lords and Gentlemen were proſcribed, together with an hundred and thirtie Senators, among whom was L. Paulus the brother of M. Lepidus, L. Cæſar the vncle of Antonius, and he who did ſo much praiſe Octauius M. Cicero. But that was done by

Cicero is put to death.

the venimous rancor of Antonius, by whose meanes he was beheaded, and the head was serued in mease vnto him, which when Fuluia the impudent wife of Antonius had espied, plucking and renting from the chaps his golden tongue, she distained it with the spittle & some of her mouth, she pricked it with needles, launced it with her nailes, brayed it with her fist, racked it with her armes, and stamped it with her feete. Fooliſh and senſleſſe anger, to inflict reuenge vpon a thing that was senſleſſe, and for the misliking of the man, to hate the dead part of his body. But thou didst nothing Antonius (for the indignation of posteritie will rise against thee) thou didst nothing by taking away the publike voice of the City and that all-pleasing tongue. Thou hast dispoiled Cicero of a poore remnant of dayes, thou hast pared away his old age, thou hast caused him to be slaine, when he wished for death, but his fame and the glorie of his vertues and excellent learning, thou art so farre from abridging, that thou hast augmented it: he liueth and shall liue by the memorie of all ages, and whilst the frame of this world shall stand,

Fuluiaes despiteful dealing with Ciceroes tong.

ſtand, and this bodie of nature ſhal continue, which that onely Romane did in minde contemplate, by wit vnderſtand, & by eloquence deſcribe, the commendation of Cicero ſhall alway accompanie it, the ſucceding wits ſhall wonder at his writings, & euery mans doome ſhall condemne thy cruelty. But the miſerie of theſe times none can ſufficiently deplore, ſo vnpoſſible it is to expreſſe it by words. But this is to be noted, that the care of wiues toward their husbands, that were proſcribed, was maruellous, & in the higheſt degree: the fidelitie of their free-men but indifferent, the loyaltie of their bond-men very ſlender, the loue of their children none at all, ſo griſly and loathſome is aduerſity to a mans owne bowels. Caſſius hearing of the great tumults of Rome, went from Syria to Smyrna in Aſia, where M. Brutus was, to take aduiſe of the ordering of the battel againſt M. Antonius, & C. Octauius, who they heard did make expedition againſt them. VVherefore Caſſius hauing ouercome the Rhodians, and Ariobarzanes, and Brutus hauing ſubdued the Patareans, the Lycians, and other nations of Aſia,

which did before moleſt them, they haſted to Macedonia that they might there wage battell. And thither not long after came Cæſar, and M. Antonius with a huge hoſt, and before the citie of Philippi they faced their enemies with the tents. That fight was verie fierce and very doubtful, for Brutus put Cæſar to flight, and Antonius Caſſius, and each of their tents was ranſacked of the victor. C. Caſſius when Brutus, who he feared was ſlaine, returned a farre off, with his horſemen, thinking that they were the enemies that purſued him, did worke his owne death by the hand of one of his retinue. Within a few dayes after M. Brutus being ouercome in another battell, and ouerborne with deſpaire, enforced Strabo that fled with him to ſlay him with his ſword: which act, many noble Romanes to the number of fortie did imitate. There were neuer anie to whom fortune did ſooner approch, thē to Brutus and Caſſius: and neuer anie from whom ſhe did more ſuddenly flie: Caſſius was the better Captaine, Brutus the better Counſeller, Brutus was more to be loued, Caſſius to be feared, becauſe the one excelled

led in vertue, the other in valor. VVho if they had conquered in this fight, it would haue bene more expedient for the Romanes to haue bene ruled by Brutus then Caſſius, by how much it was more ſafe to them in the end to be gouerned by Octauius then Antonius. The yeare following there grew diſcord betweene Cæſar and L. Antonius Conſul, and Fuluia wife to M. Antonius. They were offended with Cæſar, becauſe he ſhared that part of Macedonia to his ſouldiers which M. Antonius ſhould haue had. Fuluia was the more earneſt againſt Octauius, becauſe he had cõceiued a deep diſpleaſure againſt her daughter, and had thereupon diuorced her. Cæſar was likewiſe incenſed againſt Antonius, becauſe he would not ſend to him that ſupply of ſouldiers, which he ought to haue. Antonius therefore in his brothers quarell, maintained warre, Fuluia leagued vnto him held Prænesте, and there ſhe behaued her ſelfe as the other Conſul, cõtemning P. Seruilius who was indeed Conſul, being like to a woman in nothing but onely in ſexe: L. Antonius with an hoſtile inuaſion entred the citie of Rome, the

armie of M. Lepidus, who was left there as warden of the Citie being discomfited, and afterward departing thence toward Fraunce, was intercepted by Cæsar, who besieged him a long time at Perusia, in the countrey of Hetruria, and oftentimes making an eruption & suffering a repulse, he was constrained to submit him selfe, whom Cæsar pardoned, but many of the Senators and Romane Knights were sacrificed vpon the altar of Iulius Cęsar. He destroyed Perusia, and hauing brought into his power all the armie of the contrarie side ended that warre, Cn. Domitius Caluinus, and C. Asinius Pollio being Consuls, Pollio was a man of notable gifts, who howsoeuer matters befell, was loued of all sortes of men. Iulius Cæsar did make great reckening and accompt of him, after his death the enemies of Cæsar did greatly fauour him, M. Antonius had him in singular æstimation, Octauius held him neare vnto his heart, an excellent scholer, and a worthie souldier the onely obiect of the learned, whom both in prose & poemes, they haue condignely commended, so that I need not to proceede in his praises, this

Cæsar besiegeth Perusia

The praise of Asinius Pollio.

this is my only doubt, whether he were more to be extolled for his laudable qualities, then admired for his rare and wonderfull fortune; he was not long before with Antonius in Ægypt, but seeing him so vainely besotted with the loue of Cleopatra, seeing him knight of the Cannapee, who was earst Lord of the field, being ashamed of him as he was a Romane, ashamed of him as a General, ashamed of him as now an vnworthie companion for Pollio, he left him in Ægypt with his concubine, and came to Rome. Afterward Cæsar and Lepidus fell at variance, so that Lepidus was compelled to surrender all his authority, and to stand to Cæsars mercie for his life. Cæsar did then fight with Sex. Pompeius on the sea. Pompey being there ouercome fled to Sicilie, and afterward into Asia, and as he was preparing warre against Antoni, he was takē of M. Titius, Antonius his Lieutenant, by whō he was slaine. The last ciuill warre which was betwixt the Romaines was that which was fought by Cæsar against Antoni at Actium. The occasion of emnitie betwixt them was thus, Antonius did reproue Cæsar because

Octauius Cæsar fighteth with Sex. Pōpeius

he had taken to himself the armie of Lepidus & that which followed Sex. Pompeius, which ought to haue bene common to them three. Cæsar did obiect to Antonius, that he did keepe Ægypt without lawfull commission, that he caused Sex. Pompeius to be slaine without his consent, that he cast Artauasdes a Prince, leagued with the Romans, and taken by trecherie, into prison, & dishonored him, with gyues and fetters, to the great infamie of the Romanes, that he was more familiar with Cleopatra then became an honest man, that he had bestowed too great giftes vpon her, that he had called Cæsars surmised bastard begotten of Cleopatra, Cęsarion, to the great disgrace of that house. These things priuately by letters and publikely by messengers, were mentioned by mutuall obiection.

Octauius reades the testament of M. Antonius.

Cæsar afterward did reade Antonius his testament in the open Senate, which came to his hands by this meane. Certaine souldiers which did flie frō Antonius to him, told him that the authentike will or testament of M. Antonius, did remaine in the custodie of the Virgins vestall, of whom Cæsar did obtaine it,

it, the tenor and forme whereof was thus.

I M. Antonius one of the three ſtates of Rome, and the ſonne of M. Antonius, do by this my laſt will and teſtament make and ordaine Philadelphus & Alexander my ſonnes by Cleopatra, the heires of all my wealth and ſubſtance, which I had by deſcent from M. Antonius my father; but with this clauſe, and vpon this condition, that if I die in Rome or elſewhere, they ſhall ſolemnely conuey my bodie to Alexandria in Ægypt, and beſtow it there in a marble ſepulcher, which by this my will ſhall be made for my ſelfe and Cleopatra the Queene of Ægypt. But if they faile of this or do otherwiſe, without lawfull or vrgent cauſe, then I will that all theſe things which I leaue vnto my aforeſaid ſons, be conuerted to the vſe & behoofe of the Nuns of Veſta, & my ghoſt ſhal implore the aſſiſtãce of the Põtifex-Maximus, & the prieſts of Iupiter which are in the Capitol, to ſolicit the ſpirits of vengeance to puniſh the vnthankfulneſſe of my ſons, & then I ordaine & wil, that the Pontifex Maximus ſhall cauſe my bodie to be repoſed in a conuenient ſepulcher, within the walles

The teſtamẽt of M. Antonius.

of this citie, and I will also that as many bond-slaues as be now in my power, shall presently after my death be manumitted & made free by the Prætor; and to euerie of my other seruants I bequeath a Sestertian, & a mourning garment. Lastly, I do pronounce by this my last will and testament, that Cæsarion the son of Cleopatra, is the true, certaine, and vndoubted sonne of C. Iulius Cæsar. And to the aforesaid Cleopatra, I giue all my wealth and treasure, that I haue gained, purchased and atchieued either in warre or in peace. Done by me M. Antonius vj. kal. Iul. Ap. Claudius, C. Norbanus Coss.

VVhen the people of Rome had heard the purport of this testament, they thought that Antonius his drift, was to giue Rome to Cleopatra, for a speciall fauour, for which cause they were maruellously moued against Antonius. Cæsar did behaue him selfe in this matter very wisely and warily, for in wordes he prætended warre against Cleopatra only, and caused it to be proclaimed by the heralt, that the Ægyptian Queene did intend the suppressing of the Romanes. That was done by

by Cæſar, to the end that he might auoyd the hatred of manie noble men, who did rather affect Antonius then him. But whē Antonius for the loue of Cleopatra wold neither come into the citie to render account of his doings, nor depoſe his Triumuiracie, but was wholly buſied in præparing warre againſt Italie, Cæſar did furniſh himſelfe as well for ſea as for land: he therefore gathered manie ſouldiers out of Spaine, Fraunce, Lybia, Sardinia and Sicilia. Antonius likewiſe did make an armie of Aſians, Thracians, Macedonians, Græciās, Ægyptians and Cyrenians. And in the yeare following C. Cæſar and M. Meſſalla being Conſuls, Antonius and Cleopatra at Actium a promontorie of Epirus, encountred Cæſar, who hauing proſperous ſucceſſe in many battels againſt them, as well on ſea as on land, they being at length ouercome fled to Alexandria in Ægypt. Cæſar did ſacrifice all the pinaſſes which he had taken in warre, to Apollo, who was worſhipped at Actium, as a monument of thankfulneſſe for his victorie, and did alſo inſtitute a fiue yeres ſolemnitie, which was called the ſolemnitie of Actium,

Octauius Cæſar ſacrifiſeth all the Pinnaſes to Apollo.

beſides this he built a faire temple to Apollo, and in the place where his tents were pitched he founded a great city called Nicopolis, the citie of victorie. Aſinius Pollio did ſtill præſerue the auncient amitie that was betwixt him and M. Antonius, for when Cæſar at his departing from Rome, requeſted him that he would ioyne with him, in his warres againſt Antonius, he made this anſwer: The benefites of Antonius towards me, will not permit me to be an enemie vnto him, and my merites at the hands of Antonius be farre otherwiſe, thē that Antonius ſhould be an enemie vnto me, wherefore leauing both and leaning to neither, I wil ſtay here in Italie, and be the ſpoile of the conqueror. Cæſar did afterward beſiege Antonius & Cleopatra at Alexandria, where Antonius being in a moſt deſperate plight, being in no poſſibilitie to recouer Cęſars fauour, and hearing by a falſe rumor, that Cleopatra was ſlaine, did ſuddenly ſtab himſelfe. Cæſar tooke Alexandria, and with it Cleopatra, but becauſe ſhe would not grace Octauius ſo much as to be led in triumph by him, ſhe put Aſpes to her breaſts, and was by them

Octauius buildeth Nicopolis.

Cleopatra killed by Aſpwormes.

them done to death, though her keeper had præciſe charge to looke carefully vnto her. Ægypt was then brought by Cæſar into the forme of a prouince, and hauing made Cornelius Gallus Præſident there, he came to Rome, where he had a triple triumph, the one of Dalmatia, which he brought to conformitie after his warre finiſhed againſt Sex. Pompeius, the other of Actium, the third of Alexandria. VVhen Cęſar with the great applauſe and gratulation of the Romanes had pacified the whole præcinct of the world, and for that cauſe had ſhut the temple of Ianus the third time, and an augurie of ſafetie was celebrated, which two things were neuer done but when the whole Empire was in quietneſſe, he purpoſed to depoſe the Empirie, & to bring the common-weale to a good & perfect conſtitution. To depoſe the Empirie, M. Agrippa did perſwade him, but Męcęnas did diſſwade him, whoſe opinion he yeelded vnto. VVherfore endeuoring by law to confirme the Empirie, and to win the fauour and good eſtimation, as well of the Nobles and Senators, as of the people, he burnt all the letters which

the citizens that were then in Rome or out of Rome had writtē to Antonius, leſt any Senator who did follow Antonius his faction, ſhould thinke himſelfe to be hated of Cæſar for that cauſe, & ſo ſhould attempt ſome miſchiefe againſt him: he releeued the common ſtocke, which was greatly waſted by ciuill warres, with his owne priuate wealth, & them that were indebted to the common treaſurie, the billes of debt being burnt with his owne handes, he did free from the daunger of the rolle. And whereas many things were done, in the tumults and ſeditions of the citizens, againſt law and cuſtome by Lepidus and Antonius, he did repeale them by an Edict, and made his ſixth Conſulſhip, which he then enioyed to be the death-day of theſe lawes; by which meanes when he had worthily drawne vnto him the hearts of the people, yet in one thing he pleaſed them aboue the reſt, which was done rather of pollicie thē of plaine meaning: for hauing ſingled out a great number of Senators, whoſe loue toward him was ſpecially approued, in a very frequent Senate, he did offer to ſurrender the Empire into the hands

hands of the Senators and people. But ſome of the Senators, becauſe they ſuſpected that his wordes differed from his meaning, ſome becauſe they did feare greater daunger by a popular eſtate, others becauſe they feared his diſpleaſure, if they ſhould agree vnto it, they did with one voice refuſe the offer, and ioyned in earneſt ſute and humble petition vnto him, that he would be the ſole gouernour and abſolute Emperour of Rome, and for that cauſe they did decree that the ſtipēd of thoſe who did guard his perſon ſhould be doubled, that he might be in more ſafetie by that meane, both to his friends and to the cōmonweale. VVhen by the franke aſſent of the Senate and people, he had thus, not confirmed the auncient Empirie, but in deed created a new Monarchie, that he might ſeeme popular, he was content to charge him ſelfe with the weightie affaires of the Empire: but the authoritie and dignitie thereof he did cōmunicate with the people: and therefore vnto the Senate and people he did allot Numidia, Aſia, Græcia, Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicilia, Creta, Cyrene, Bythinia, Pontus, Sar-

dinia and Hiſpania Betica: which were the more peaceable and quiet countries. To him ſelfe he tooke the other parts of Spaine, and all Fraunce, Narbonenſis, Lugdunenſis, Aquitanica Celtica, likewiſe Germania, Cœloſyria, Phœnicia, Cyprus and Ægypt. And that he might void out of their minds all ſuſpition of Monarchie, the ſupreme authoritie that was aſſigned to him he did only reſtraine to ten yeres continuance. The Romanes did beſtow diuerſe honors vpon Cæſar, planting before the doore of his Court a Bay tree, on the top whereof they ſet a wreath of oaken boughs, ſignifying that he was the man that had both ouercome their enemies, and ſet their citie in ſafetie. They decreed alſo that his Court ſhould be called a Pallace, ſo that in what region ſoeuer the Romane Emperor did ſoiourne, his Court was called a Pallace, and that he ſhould be called Auguſtus. For when many would haue adorned him with ſome title of excellencie, Cæſar had a great deſire to be called Romulus ſecundus, but becauſe that did reſemble too much the title of a king, he was content to be called Auguſtus,

The Romans plant a bay tree before Octauius his doore.

ſtus, that is, maieſticall or diuine. Thus had Cæſar the power of a king the ſtile only forepriſed. In him all the dignities and magiſtracies did meete, he was ſole Conſul, in determining iudicially of publike affaires, ſole Pōtifex, for he had that ſpeciall title, ſole Cenſor in taxing the Romanes by poales, and fining them for faults, ſole Tribune, in abrogating theſe lawes & voiding theſe acts which were made and done by other magiſtrates: which though in ſhew they were manie, yet in deed there was now but one Magiſtrate in Rome, one Emperour, one Auguſtus; but theſe honors did not warrant Cæſars quietneſſe, for he was endangered by many trecheries, and being thereby too ſeuere in puniſhing both the worthie and vnworthie, vpon ſuſpition & ſurmiſe without anie formall proceeding againſt them, he did indeed miniſter oile vnto the flame of their malice. Amongſt the reſt Cn. Cornelius, whoſe grandfather was Cn. Pompeius Magnus, did with his complices imagine and conſpire the death of Auguſtus, whom Cęſar would not put to death, becauſe he thought by that meane, he ſhould gaine

no great ſecuritie, neither would he deliuer them from impriſonment, leſt others might take courage & counſell to attempt the like. VVith this doubt & perplexitie he was grieuouſly troubled, and cares did torment his mind both in the night and in the day time; wherefore walking alone in his garden, and muſing what to do, Liuia the Empreſſe came vnto him, and prayed him of all loues to reueale vnto her, what griefe had encroched vpon his heart, and what was the cauſe of his vnuſuall dumpes, to whom Cæſar made this
« anſwer. Can any man, Liuia, be of a calme
« and contented mind, againſt whom on euery
« ſide are layd the ſnares of treaſon? Seeſt thou
« not how manie doe beſiege my quietneſſe,
« whom the puniſhment of condemned per-
« ſons doth not only not deterre, but, as if there
« were ſome hope of reward, others ruſh deſ-
« peratly forward to vnlawfull attempts. Liuia
« when ſhe heard this, did thus reply. It is no
« maruel, my Lord, if you be beſet with dãgers,
« partly becauſe you are a man, and therefore
« borne to caſualtie, partly an Emperour, by
« whoſe authoritie, becauſe manie are put to
death,

death, many that liue do conceiue hatred a- „
gainſt you; for a Prince cānot only not pleaſe „
all, but though he gouerne in moſt orderly „
and peaceable maner, it cannot be otherwiſe, „
but he ſhould haue many foes. For there be „
not ſo many iuſt as iniurious, whoſe humours „
can neuer be ſatisfied, & they which be of the „
better ſort do aime at great matters, which „
becauſe they can not obtaine, and becauſe „
they are inferiour to others, are full of male- „
contentment, and for that cauſe they are of- „
fended with their Prince. But the danger vnto „
which you are ſubiect by them which do not „
cōſpire againſt your perſon, but againſt your „
eſtate, cannot anie way be auoided. For if „
you were a priuate man, none would offer „
you iniurie, vnleſſe he receiued wrong be- „
fore at your hands, but an Empire, and the „
reuenues thereof, they which haue power do „
rather affect, then they which are poore do „
loath. This though it be a point of vnconſcio- „
nable men, yet as other faults, ſo this is the „
ſeed of nature, which out of ſome men nei- „
ther by rewards nor by threats you ſhall be a- „
ble to extirpate: for neither feare nor lawe „

« can do more then nature. VVhich being tho-
« roughly cõsidered, it will seeme a great deale
« more conuenient to strengthen and stablish
« your Empire with faithfulnesse and loyaltie,
« then with sharpnesse and rigor. Augustus did
« thus reioyne: I know, Liuia, that the highest
« things be most subiect to hatred, & the grea-
« test Emperours haue the greatest enemies:
« for if our cares, griefes and perils were not
« greater then the griefes and perturbations of
« priuate mẽ, we should be æqual to the Gods;
« but this doth chiefly molest me, that I cannot
« deuise anie remedie, which may cure & con-
« quer this mischiefe. All men haue enemies, &
« many haue bene slaine by enemies, but the e-
« state of Princes lieth so open to casualtie, that
« we are cõstrained to feare our familiar frinds
« and our daily acquaintance, with whom be-
« cause we must continually conuerse, we do
« continually feare, and this maladie is more
« hardly redressed then emnitie: for against our
« enemies we may oppose our friends, but if
« our friends do faile vs, where is thẽ our helpe?
« therfore both solitude and multitude is grie-
« uous vnto vs, & it is dangerous to be without

a gard,

a gard, but to haue an vnfaithful gard is much » more dangerous. Apparant enemies may be » auoided, but falſe-hearted friends we cannot » anie way ſhunne: for we muſt call thē friends, » of whoſe conſtant faithfulneſſe we can not » poſſibly be aſſured; for my ſelfe I do plainely » proteſt, that my heart abhorreth from the ex- » tremitie of puniſhment, and the neceſſitie of » torture goeth greatly againſt my mind. Then » ſaid Liuia, You haue ſpoken well my Lord, » but if you will be aduiſed by me, & you ought » not to refuſe my counſell becauſe it procee- » deth from a woman; I will aduiſe you of that » which none of your friends will impart vnto » you, not becauſe they are ignorant of it, but » for that they dread your diſpleaſure. VVhich » Auguſtus taking hold of, Tell it me Liuia » ſaid he whatſoeuer it is. I will, ſaid Liuia, and » that as willingly as you would heare it, for I » am made partaker of your deſtinie. Cæſar » being ſafe I am Empreſſe, and he being diſ- » honored, which misfortune the Gods auert, » I am alſo diſgraced, and bereaued of glorie. » That I may not vſe an ambuſh of words, nor » a labyrinth of circumſtances: my theame ſhal »

" be one word, and that is, Clemencie. Change
" thy course Augustus, and forgiue some of thy
" foes, manie things may be healed by lenitie,
" which crueltie can neuer cut off. Neither do
" I speake this, as if disloyall and irregular per-
" sons should generally and without difference
" receiue mercie, nay they that be notoriously
" stained, and branded with conspiracie, they
" that trouble the quietnesse of the Common-
" weale, they that are ouerflowed with vices,
" whose life is nothing else but leudnes, so that
" they are past hope or helpe, cut them off my
" Augustus, as the putrified parts of a distem-
" pered bodie: but they which either through
" the infirmitie of youth, or the imprudency of
" mind, or through ignorance or mischaunce
" haue offended, or which against their willes
" haue bene drawne into daunger, admonish
" them, but with minatorie speeches: and let
" them finde grace but with condition. Some
" thou mayest punish with exile, some with in-
" famie, and some with money: and that none
" may be vniustly condemned, nor by a fained
" accusation suffer death, let the truth be tried
" by such proofes, as may worthilie be appro-
ued.

ued. For it behoooueth thee Auguſtus, not »
onely to be free from doing wrong, but euen »
from ſhew and ſemblance of iniurie. Priuate »
men haue done enough if they haue not of- »
fended, but a Prince muſt endeuor not to be »
ſuſpected of faults. Thou ruleſt ouer men, not »
ouer beaſts, ouer Romanes, and not ouer »
Barbarians, and the onely meane to lincke »
their hearts vnto thee, is to benefite all and »
to oppreſſe none. For though a man may be »
conſtrained to feare, yet he cannot be enfor- »
ced to loue; for when the ſubiect clearely di- »
ſcerneth that his Prince is bountifull, he is »
ſoone perſwaded: but when he is once reſol- »
ued vpon manifeſt præſumption, that ſome »
be vniuſtly put to death, leſt the ſame thing »
happen vnto him, he may iuſtly feare: and »
whō he ſo feareth, he hateth with the ſtrength »
of his heart. But a Prince is the priuiledge of »
his ſubiects ſecurity, that they take no harme, »
neither of forreiners, nor of their fellow ſub- »
iects, much leſſe of their Prince & protector. »
And it is a great deale more magnificent and »
glorious to ſaue then to kill: wherfore lawes, »
benefites, admonitions muſt be vſed, that »

" men may become circumspect, & warie, and
" further they must be so diligently watched
" and obserued, that though they would be, yet
" they may not be traiterous; and they which
" are greene in conceit, and as it were flexible
" waxe to the stronger powers, must haue per-
" petuall conseruatiues lest they be corrupted:
" and to tollerate the offences of some, is both
" great wisedome and great manhood: for if e-
" uerie mans fault should be his fall, the earth
" would soone lacke inhabitants. Thinke my
" good Augustus, that the sword cannot do all
" things for thee: it cannot make men wise, it
" cannot make them faithful: it may constraine
" them, but it cannot perswade them: it doth
" pierce the heart of him that is slaine, but it
" doth alienate the mind of him that doth liue.
" VVherefore alter thy opinion noble Empe-
" rour, and by vsing clemencie they will thinke
" that all that thou hast heretofore done was
" done by necessitie and against thy will, but if
" thou perseuerest still in the same minde and
" purpose, they will impute all that hath bene
" done to the austeritie and soureness of thy
" nature. VVith these speeches of Liuia Augu-
stus

ſtus being moued, pardoned many, and vſed as much lenitie as his owne ſafetie would beare: whereby he purchaſed the entire loue of the Romanes, and all his life time after there was neuer anie treaſon attempted againſt him. Thus after ciuill emnities extinguiſhed, forreine warres fully ended, iuſtice recalled, deſtiny ſatisfied, ſtrength was reſtored to lawes, authoritie to Magiſtrates, dignitie to the Nobles, maieſtie to the Senate, ſafetie to the people: the fieldes were without hinderance trimmed and tilled, the ſacrifices celebrated and ſolemnized, quietneſſe returned to men, and euerie poſſeſſion to his lawfull owner: good lawes were made, imperfect lawes were amended, bad lawes cancelled: the Senators were ſeuere without curriſhneſſe, the people honeſt without conſtraint: and with this harmonie peace pleaſed the Romanes.

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55. he killeth Cluentius. ibid. he is made Consull. 57 his contrarie nature. ibid. his descent. ibid. he besiegeth Nola. 58. his revenge vpon the seditious. 60. his hard conditions of peace concluded with Mithridates. 68 the King of Parthia sendeth Embassadors to him. ibid. he passeth quietly through Italy. 69. he dismisseth Sertorius without hurt. 70. he fighteth with Telesinus a Samnite. 71. C. Marius the yoonger is slaine by his souldiers. 72. he vsurpeth the Dictatorship. ibid. he causeth the souldiers of Praeneste to be slaine. 73. he putteth in practise proscription. 73. M. Marius is slaine by him. 74. his rage against Pletorius. ibid. the ashes of C. Marcus throwne into a river by Sylla. 75. he dieth. ibid.

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